

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHIST

II.—PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

BY

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*'The truth (so ever true it is) that robs you of sympathy with any form
of thought or trait of man is false for you' —R. L. STEVENSON*

London

PUBLISHED FOR THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE AMEN CORNER, E.C.

1913

TO
HERMANN OLDENBERG,
WHO FIRST MADE ACCESSIBLE TO THE WEST THE
THERAGATHA,
THIS THE FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION
IS IN GRATEFUL ADMIRATION
DEDICATED

*'Tis self whereby we suffer 'Tis the greed
 To grasp, the hunger to assimilate
 All that earth holds of fair and delicate,
 The lust to blend with beauteous lines, to feed
 And take our fill of loveliness, which breed
 This anguish of the soul intemperate
 'Tis self that turns to harm and poisonous hate
 The calm, clear life of love that [Arahants] lead
 Oh ! that 'twere possible this self to burn
 In the pure flame of joy contemplative !
 Then nught we love all loveliness, nor yearn
 With tyrannous longings, undisturbed might live
 Greeting the summer's and the spring's return,
 Nor wailing that their joy is fugitive*

J A SYMONDS

*Was erloschen sollte, is erloschen, das Feuer der Begier,
 des Hasses, der Verblendung In weitenloser Ferne liegt Fürchten
 und Hoffen, das Wollen, das Sichanklammern an den Wahn
 der Ichheit ist überwunden, wie der Mann die torichten Wünsche
 der Kindheit von sich abwirft*

H OLDENBERG

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PAGE

The text of the verses, its difficulty Sources of aid First appearance in translation or in print of Dhammapāla's Commentary Its historical weakness The early doctrines in the poems Gradual insertion of the poems into an anthology Problem of the names Type names The prose legends and the Old Commentaries of the Great Master, Ceylon Poetry in prose framework the Buddhist mode of presentation Varying utility of the Commentary, cases where it is indispensable Its information concerning the families whence the authors "went forth" Authors of more than one poem The proportion of poor families represented The large number of young and even of child arahant poets The Buddha seeking the poor and the children External and internal experiences in the poems Sermon poems and the Sisters "Aññā" testified to Pictures in the Commentary Beauties of diction Great and ordinary *sāra*s Monachism and nature love intensified by poetic gift The forest as a home of the pure Permanent poetic production and transient wave of poetry The poetry of the saint as expressing another scale of values from that of the layman and the aspirant The vision of the Arahant and the "forward view" Comparative study for future writers Metres

xix

INTRODUCTORY VERSES BY THE COMPILERS OF THE ANTHOLOGY . 6

CANTO I. SINGLE VERSES ASCRIBED TO¹—

I	Subhuti (burgess), Sāvatti: nophow to Anāthapindika	4
II	*Kōṭṭhita the Great ² brahmin, Sāvatti	6
III	*Kankā Revata (burgess) Sāvatti	7

¹ Pronounce the vowels as in German or Italian, but the unaccented *a* as *u* in *but*. Every *a* is thus pronounced, if it *is* *no* *long* mark e.g. Revata=, not Ray vah tā, but Ray vā tā, the emphasis not as in *tomato* but as in *comforter*. Pronounce single consonants as in English except *c* which always=*ch*, as in *church*, and *g*, which is always hard as in *get*. Pronounce dotted dentals as English dentals in undotted dentals let the tongue strike the teeth. In doubled consonants detach as in Italian, thus *kam* ma, *Paṇ* ṇa. In aspirated consonants let the aspirate be heard e.g. *m* *There*, *t* *has* *in* *forehead* (*Winy* rā), *Channa*, *cā* as *ch* *h* *in* *beech-hill*, *saṇḍha* as *d* *h* in *dead head*, with a second *d* interposed, *y* *ang*, the sound is more usually printed as *ṃ*.

² * signifies an *agga* *śrīla* or disciple chief in some attainment, according to *Anguttara-Nikāya* 1 'Eṭad agga vagga'. Names in capitals are those of Dhammapāla's *maḥi-sīrai*. Names in italics at capitals are those classed as leading Theras in Vinaya and Nikayas (cf. R. O. Franke, *J. P. T. S.*, 1908, p. 27).

	PAGE
IV. *PUNNA OF THE MAHĀNIS, brahmin, Donavatthu . . .	8
V. *DABBA OF THE MALLAS, khattiya, Anuppiyā . . .	10
VI. "Sīta Vaniya" Sambhūta, br, Rājagaha . . .	11
VII Bhalliya (caravan driver), Pokkharavati . . .	12
VIII Vira, kh (s of minister to Pasenadi), Sāvatti . . .	13
IX. *Pihnda Vaccha, br, Sāvatti . . .	14
X. Punnamāsa, hr., Sāvatti . . .	15
XI Gavaccha the Less, br, Kosambi . . .	16
XII Gavaccha the Great, br., Nālaka . . .	17
XIII. "Vana" Vaccha, br, Kapilavatthu, playmate of the Bodhisat . . .	17
XIV. Sīvaka, br, nephew to XIII . . .	18
XV. *"Kūṇḍa" Duṇḍa, br, Sāvatti . . .	19
XVI Belatthasāsa, br, Sāvatti . . .	21
XVII Dāsaka, slave, Sāvatti, Anāthapaṇḍita's household . . .	21
XVIII Singāla Pitar, burgess, Sāvatti . . .	22
XIX. Kula, hr, Sāvatti . . .	24
XX. AJITA, hr, Sāvatti (s of Pasenadi's valuer) . . .	25
XXI Nigrodha, br, Sāvatti, very rich . . .	26
XXII Uttaka, br, Rājagaha, very rich . . .	26
XXIII Goḍḍa, Māgadha, rich . . .	27
XXIV Sugandha, burgess, Sāvatti, rich . . .	28
XXV. Nandiya, kh, Sākya, Kapilavatthu . . .	29
XXVI. Abhaya, kh, Rājagaha, bastard son of Bimbisāra . . .	30
XXVII Lomasakangiya, kh, Sākya, Kapilavatthu . . .	31
XXVIII Jamhugāmika's Son, Campā, lay adherent's son . . .	32
XXIX Hānta, br, Sāvatti (rich) . . .	33
XXX. Uttiya, br, Sāvatti . . .	34
XXXI. "Gahvatariya" Aggaddatta, br, Sāvatti . . .	35
XXXII Suppiya, s. of cemetery watchman, Sāvatti . . .	36
XXXIII "Sopāka," adopted brother to Suppiya, Sāvatti . . .	37
XXXIV. Posiya, burgess, Sāvatti (rich) . . .	39
XXXV. Sāmaññakāsi, a Paribbājaka's son . . .	40
XXXVI. Kumā's Son, burgess, Vesālaka in Avanti . . .	41
XXXVII "Comrade of Kumā's Son," Sudanta, burgess, ibid. . .	42
XXXVIII GAVAMPATI, burgess, friend of Yasa (CXVII) . . .	42
XXXIX. Tava, kh, Kapilavatthu, the Bodhisat's step-brother . . .	43
XL. Vagghamāsa, kh, Vesāl . . .	44
XLI. Suvaddha, br, Rājagaha . . .	45
XLII. *"Khaddira Vaniya," see EXXII, br, younger brother of Sānpatta; so also CXLIIV. . .	45
XLIII Samagala, peasant, near Sāvatti . . .	47
XLIV. Sānu, Sāvatti, s of a lay adherent . . .	48
XLV. "Itamāsiya viḍḍam," burgess, Rājagaha . . .	49
XLVI Samuddha, kh, Rājagaha . . .	51
XLVII Ujjaya, br, Rājagaha . . .	52

	page
XLVIII. Sañjaya, br., Rājagaha, rich	52
XLIX. "Rāṇapoyyaka," burgess, Sāvattthi, rich	53
L. Vimala, burgess, Rājagaha, rich	54
LI. Godhuka, kh., Pāvā	54
LII. Sūnāhu, kh., Pāvā	54
LIII. Valhya, kh., Pāvā	54
LIV. Uttiya, kh., Pāvā	54
LV. "Añjana-Vanya," kh., Vajjian, Vesālī	56
LVI. "Kutavibhāṇa," (1 kh., Vajjian, Vesālī)	57
LVII. "Kutavibhāṇa" (2) (1 kh., Vajjian, Vesālī)	58
LVIII. "Ramañiya kutaka" (1 kh., Vajjian, Vesālī)	59
LIX. Kosala vibhāṇa (1 kh., Kosala)	59
LX. *Savah, kh., s. of Suppavāḍā kumārī	60
LXI. Vappa, br., s. of Vāsettha of Kapilavattihū, one of the "Elvo" ascetics	62
LXII. Vajji putta, burgess, Vesālī	63
LXIII. "Pakkha" Saṃmoda, kh., Sākya, Devadaha	64
LXIV. Vimala-"Kondañña," Vesālī, bastard son of Bim- biṣṭa	65
LXV. "Ukkhopata," Vaccha, br., Sāvattthi	66
LXVI. Meghiya, kh., Sākya, Kapilavattihū	67
LXVII. "Ekadhamma Savanhiya," burgess, Setavyā	67
LXVIII. "Ekudāriya," burgess, Sāvattthi	68
LXIX. Channa, slave, Suddhodana's household, Kapila- vattihū	70
LXX. PUNNA (SUNĀPARANTAKA), burgess, Sappāṃka	70
LXXI. Vacchapāla, br., Rājagaha	72
LXXII. Atuma, burgess, Sāvattthi	72
LXXIII. "Māgava," br., Sāvattthi	73
LXXIV. Suyāmana, br., Sāla	74
LXXV. "Sāsāraḍa," br., Nālaka	74
LXXVI. "Piyaḍjaha," kh., Vesālī	75
LXXVII. "Hattihāroha putta," elephant trainer, Sāvattthi	76
LXXVIII. "Mondaṇḍa," burgess, Sāketa	76
LXXIX. Raikkhata, kh., Sākya, Devadaha	77
LXXX. Ugga, burgess, Ugga	78
LXXXI. Samuttagata, br., Sāvattthi	78
LXXXII. Kassapa, br. (Udessa), Sāvattthi	79
LXXXIII. Siha, kh., of the Mallas	80
LXXXIV. Nita, br., Sāvattthi	81
LXXXV. Sunāga, br., Nālaka	81
LXXXVI. Nāgata, kh., Sākya, Kapilavattihū	82
LXXXVII. Pavattihā, br., a Paribbājaka in Magadha	82
LXXXVIII. Ajjuna, burgess, Sāvattthi	83
LXXXIX. Devasabha, kh., maṇḍabha rāja	83
XC. Sāmadatta, br., Rājagaha	84

	PAGE
IV *PUNNA OF THE MAURYAS brahmin Donavatthu	8
V *DABBA OF THE VALLAS khattiya Anupiya	10
VI Sita Vanija Sambhuta br Rājagaha	11
VII Bhalliya (caravan driver) Pokkharavati	12
VIII Vira kh (s of minister to Pasenadi) Sāvattbī	13
IX. *Pibinda Vaccha br Sāvattbu	14
X Puṇṇamāsa br Savatthu	15
XI Gavaccha the Less br Kosambi	16
XII Gavaccha the Great br Nālaka	17
XIII Vana Vaccha br Kapilavatthu playmate of the Bodhisat	17
XIV Sivaka br nephew to VIII	18
XV * KUNDI DHANA br Savatthi	19
XVI Belatthasasa br Sāvattbu	21
XVII Dāsaka slave Sāvattbu Anāthap nḍ ka s household	21
XVIII Singala Pitar burgess Savatthi	22
XIX Kula br Sāvattbu	24
XX AJITA br Savatthi (s of Pasenadi s valuer)	25
XXI Ngrodha br Sāvattbu very rich	26
XXII Uttaka br Rajagaha very rich	26
XXIII Gośala Māgadha rich	27
XXIV Sugandha burgees Savatthi rich	28
XXV Nand ya kh Sakyan Kapilavatthu	29
XXVI Abhaya kh Rājagaha bastard son of Bimbisāra	30
XXVII Lomasakangiya kh, Sakyan Kapilavatthi	31
XXVIII Jambugamuka s Son Campā lay adherent s son	32
XXIX. Harita br Savatthi (rich)	33
XXX Utt ya br Savatthi	34
XXXI Gahvaratūriya Aggiddatta br Sāvattbu	35
XXXII Suppiya s of cemetery watchman Savatthi	36
XXXIII Sopāka adopted brother to Suppiya Sāvattbu	37
XXXIV Posiya burgees Savatthi (rich)	39
XXXV Sāmañnakāmi a Paribbājaka s son	40
XXXVI Kuma s Son burgees Velukaṇḍa in Avanti	41
XXXVII Comrade of Kumā s Son Sudanta burgees ibid	42
XXXVIII GAVAMPATI burgees friend of Yasa (CXXVII)	42
XXXIX. Tissa kh Kapilavatthu the Bodhisat s step brother	43
XL Vaddhamāna kh Vesāhi	44
XLI Sivaḍḍha br Rajagaha	45
XLII * Khad ra Vanija s e RASITA br younger brother of Sārisputta s o also CXXIV	45
XLIII Sumangala peasant near Sāvattbu	47
XLIV Sānu Sāvattbī s of a lay adherent	48
XLV Raman ya valara burgees Rājagaha	49
XLVI Samaddhi kh Rājagaha	51
XLVII Ujjva br Rājagaha	52

	PAGE
XLVIII. Sañjaya, br, Rājagaha, rich	52
XLIX. "Rāmaṇeyyaka," burgess, Sāvattthī, rich	53
I. Vimala, burgess, Rājagaha, rich	54
LI. Godhuka, kh, Pāvā	54
LII. Supānu, kh, Pāvā	54
LIII. Valhiya, kh, Pāvā	54
LIV. Utiya, kh, Pāvā	54
IV. "Añjana-Vaniya," kh, Vajjian, Vesālī	56
LVI. "Kutivihārin," (1 kh, Vajjian, Vesālī)	57
LVII. "Kutivihārin" (2) (1 kh, Vajjian, Vesālī)	58
LVIII. "Ramañiya kutika" (1 kh, Vajjian, Vesālī)	59
LIX. Kosala vihārin (1 kh, Kosala)	59
LX. Sivala, kh, n. of Suppavāsa kumārā	60
LXI. Varpa, br, s of Vāsettha of Kapilavattthu, one of the "Five" ascetics	62
LXII. Vajja putta, burgess, Vesālī	63
LXIII. "Pakkha" Sagmoda, kh, Sākiyan, Devadaha	64
LXIV. Vimala "Kondañña," Vesālī, bastard son of Bim- busāra	65
LXV. "Ukkhepata," Vaccha, br, Sāvattthī	66
LXVI. Meghiya, kh, Sākiyan, Kapilavattthu	67
LXVII. "Ekadhamma Savaniya," burgess, Setavyā	67
LXVIII. "Ekudāniya," burgess, Sāvattthī	68
LXIX. Channa, slave, Suddhodana's household, Kapila- vattthu	70
LXX. Punna (SUNIPARANTAKA), burgess, Suppāraka	70
LXXI. Vacchapaṭi, br, Rājagaha	72
LXXII. Ātuma, burgess, Sāvattthī	72
LXXIII. "Mānava," br, Sāvattthī	73
LXXIV. Suyāmana, br, Sālī	74
LXXV. "Sūsāraḍa," br, Nālaka	74
LXXVI. "Piyañjaha," kh, Vesālī	75
LXXVII. "Hatthāroha putta," elephant trainer, Sāvattthī	76
LXXVIII. "Mendāsira," burgess, Sāketa	76
LXXIX. Rakkhata, kh, Sākiyan, Devadaha	77
LXXX. Ugga, burgess, Ugga	78
LXXXI. Samatigutta, br, Sāvattthī	78
LXXXII. Kassapa, br (Udessa), Sāvattthī	79
LXXXIII. Siba, kh, of the Mallas	80
LXXXIV. Nīta, br, Sāvattthī	81
LXXXV. Sunāga, br, Nālaka	81
LXXXVI. Nāgita, kh, Sākiyan, Kapilavattthu	82
LXXXVII. Pavittha, br, a Pambhājaka in Magadha	82
LXXXVIII. Ajjana, burgess, Sāvattthī	83
LXXXIX. Devasabha, kh, maṇḍalika rāja	83
XC. Sāmidatta, br, Rājagaha	84

CLXXV.	"Khuja" - Sobhita, br, Pāṭalputta	163
CLXXVI.	Vāraṇa, hr, Kosala	164
CLXXVII.	Passika, br, Kosala	165
CLXXVIII.	YASOJA, fisherman, gate of Sāvattthī	166
CLXXIX.	Sāṭimattiya, br., Magadha	167
CLXXX.	*UPALA, barber, Kapilavattbu	168
CLXXXI.	Uttarapāla, br, Sāvattthī	170
CLXXXII.	Abbhūta, kh, Vettḥapura	170
CLXXXIII.	Gotama (2), kh, Sākya	171
CLXXXIV.	Hārta (2), hr, Sāvattthī (! identical with Hārta XXIX)	172
CLXXXV.	Vimala (2), hr, Benares	173

CANTO IV. PSALMS OF FOUR VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CLXXXVI.	Nāgasamāla, kh, Sākya	175
CLXXXVII.	BHAGU, kh, Sākya, Kapilavattbu	176
CLXXXVIII.	Sabbha, kh, born of Paribbājaka parents	177
CLXXXIX.	*NANDAKA, kh, Sāvattthī	178
CXC.	Jambuka, very poor, an ascetic	179
CXCI.	Senaka, br, Gayā, nephew of the Kassapas of Uruvelā	180
CXCII.	Sambhūta (! "Sānavāsina"), kh, a "Western" Thera	182
CXCIII.	*RISULA, kh, Sākya, s of the Bodhisat	183
CXCIV.	Candana, rich, Sāvattthī	183
CXCV.	Dhammika, br, Kosala	185
CXCVI.	Sabbaka, br, Sāvattthī	186
CXCVII.	Mudita, c, Kosala	187

CANTO V PSALMS OF FIVE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CXCVIII.	Rājadatta, caravan leader, Sāvattthī	189
CXCIX.	Subhūta, c, Magadha	190
CC.	Girimānanda, br. Rājagaha, s. of King's chaplain	192
CCI.	Sumana, c, Kosala	193
CCII.	Vaḍḍha, c, Bharukaccha (Theri's son)	194
CCIII.	KASSAPA OF THE RIVER, br, Magadha	195
CCIV.	KASSAPA OF GAYĀ, br, Magadha, brother of above,	197
CCV.	*Vakkala, br, Sāvattthī	197
CCVI.	Vijitasena, elephant trainer, Kosala	200
CCVII.	Yasadatta, kh, of the Mallas	201
CCVIII.	SOYA "KUTIKANVA," settḥu, Avanti	202
CCIX.	Kosiya, br, Magadha	204

CANTO VI PSALMS OF SIX VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

	PAGE
CCX. *KASSAPA OF URUVELĀ, br, Magadha . . .	200
CCXI. Tekicchakāra, br, s of Subuddha (later) . . .	208
CCXII. Mahānāga, br, Sāketa . . .	210
CCXIII. Kulla, landowner, Sāvattihī . . .	211
CCXIV. Mālunkya's Son, s of King's valuer, Sāvattihī . . .	212
CCXV. Sappadāsa, br, Kapilavatthu, s of Saddhodhana's chaplain . . .	214
CCXVI. Kāṭiyāna, Kosiya, br, Sāvattihī . . .	215
CCXVII. Migajālā, s of Visākha, Sāvattihī (setthi) . . .	216
CCXVIII. Jenta (2), br, s of King's chaplain, Sāvattihī . . .	218
CCXIX. Sumana (2), upāsaka's son, pupil of Anuruddha . . .	220
CCXX. "Nhātaka mura," br, Rājagaha . . .	222
CCXXI. Brahmadatta, kh, son of Pasenadi . . .	223
CCXXII. Sīranda, br, Sugumārāgiri . . .	224
CCXXIII. Sabbakāma, kh, Vesālī (later), pupil of Ānanda . . .	226

CANTO VII PSALMS OF SEVEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXXIV. "Sundara" Samudda, setthi, Rājagaha . . .	228
CCXXV. *"LAKUNTAKA" BHADDIYA, Sāvattihī, rich . . .	230
CCXXVI. Bhadda, setthi, Sāvattihī . . .	231
CCXXVII. Sopāka (2), either a pariah, or a trader's child . . .	233
CCXXVIII. "Sarabhaṅga," br, Rājagaha . . .	236

CANTO VIII PSALMS OF EIGHT VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXXIX. *KACCĀLAJA THE GREAT, br, son of the chaplain to King Candapayyoti, Ujjeni . . .	238
CCXXX. Sīruttā, landowner, Rājagaha . . .	241
CCXXXI. *"PANTHAKA" MAJOR, setthi's daughter's s, Rājagaha . . .	242

CANTO IX PSALM OF NINE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXXXII. Bhūta, setthi, Sāketa . . .	245
--------------------------------------	-----

CANTO X PSALMS OF TEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXXXIII. *Kāludāyin, s of a statesman, Kapilavatthu (! kh) . . .	248
CCXXXIV. "Ekavihārya" Tissa kumāra, kh, brother to King Asoka (cf. CXIV) . . .	251
CCXXXV. *KAIPINA THE GREAT, kh, Kukkuṭa (Border country) . . .	254

	PAGE
CCXXXVI. * <i>COLA-PANTHAKA</i> (Minor), suttā's daughter's s., Rājagaha	258
CCXXXVII. Kappa, kh., Magadha rāja	259
CCXXXVIII. *UPASENA, VANGANTA's SOV, and of Sārī, or "Rūpa-Sārī," br., Nālaka	261
CCXXXIX. Gotama (3), br., of Udācca, Sāvattihī	264

CANTO XL. PSALM OF ELEVEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXL. Sankicca, br., Sāvattihī, high rank	266
---	-----

CANTO XII. PSALMS OF TWELVE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXLI. Sūvat, kh., s of Bumbisāra, Rājagaha	269
CCXLII. Sunīta, flower scavenger	271

CANTO XIII. PSALM OF THIRTEEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXLIII. *SOVA KOLIVISA (councillor's s.), Campā	273
--	-----

~~CANTO XIV.~~ PSALMS OF FOURTEEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXLIV. * <i>REYATA</i> ("Khadirevanyā"), br., younger brother of Sāruputta, Nālaka (see XLII)	279
CCXLV. Godatta, caravan leader, Sāvattihī	281
(Psalms of fifteen verses desunt)	

CANTO XV. PSALMS OF SIXTEEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXLVI. *ANNA KONDANNA, br., Donavatthu, the first disciple	284
CCXLVII. Udāyin, br., Kapilavatthu	287
(Psalms of seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen verses desunt)	

CANTO XVI. PSALMS OF TWENTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXLVIII. Adhumutta, br., nephew of Sankicca (CCXL)	291
CCXLIX. Pārāpanya, br., Sāvattihī (see CCLVII)	294
CCL. Takkāsa, br., Sāvattihī	298
CCLI. *Ratthapāla, councillor's s., Thullakotthaka	302
CCLII. Māṇḍikā's Son (same as author of CCXIV)	307
CCLIII. Sela, br., Āpāna	310
CCLIV. *BHADDIYA KĀLIGODHĀ's SOV, kh., Kapilavatthu	315
CCLV. "Angulimāla" Ahigaaka, br., s of Bhaggava, Pasenadi's chaplain (? Sāvattihī)	318
CCLVI. * <i>ANURUPPIA</i> , kh., Kapilavatthu	325
CCLVII. Pārāpanya (later), identical with CCXLIX	331

CANTO XVII PSALMS OF THIRTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCLVIII	Phuses kh (a later poem)	PAGE 333
CCLIX	* <i>SARIPUTTA</i> bc Nakaka 'chief disciple	340
CCLX	* <i>ANANDA</i> kh Sakyon cousin to the Bodhist	349

CANTO XVIII PSALM OF FORTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCLXI	* <i>KASSAPA THE GREAT</i> s of the brahman Kapila Mahāstūtha	359
-------	---	-----

CANTO XIX PSALM OF FIFTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCLXII	Talaputa mime Rajagaha	369
--------	------------------------	-----

CANTO XX PSALM OF SIXTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCLXIII	* <i>MOGGALLANA THE GREAT</i> s of *Moggala br near Rajagaha chief disciple	382
---------	---	-----

CANTO XXI PSALM OF SEVENTY ONE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

✓CCLXIV	* <i>VANDISA</i>	395
---------	------------------	-----

APPENDICES

I	ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS	414
II	ASPECTS OF THE GOAL OR GOOD	420
III	THREE VERSES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS ANTHOLOGY	423
IV	WORDS QUOTED BY THE COMMENTARY	425

INDEX	428
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INTRODUCTION

With this second volume of the so-called Psalms of the Early Buddhists, my task is finished of laying before English readers a translation, at its best but rough and provisional, of the remarkable anthology of the *Thera therīgāthā* contained in the Pali Canon of the Three Pitakas. Of the stanzas in this volume of the poems, numbering if we discount duplicates, approximately 1,220 only a small proportion, under 100, have hitherto appeared in English dress. These are the verses, specified throughout the work, which appear in English translations of the *Dhammapala*, *Sutta Nipāta* and *Uddāna*, the *Dialogues of the Bul Ūa*, the *Jātaka*, and the *Viṇaya*. Only in German, in Dr. K. E. Neumann's translation, published fourteen years ago, has the work up till now appeared in its entirety in any European tongue.

Concerning the Pali text itself, I have already written in the sister volume. Thanks to the institution of the Pali Text Society and to the *editio princeps* of the text, prepared by the fine scholarship of Dr. Hermann Oldenberg and forming one of that Society's early volumes, there has been no need for the translator to wear eyes and patience in deciphering undivided lines of alien scripts on palm-leaves of mellow ochre, unsuited to readers in this light starved climate.

The residual difficulties encountered in coping with the poetic diction in general, and with many an obscure allusion in particular, have at times been very formidable. As with the sister volume, however, three powerful aids have been at hand throughout—my husband's Pali collectanea and knowledge of Pali, the Neumann translation and

Dhammapāla's commentary — the *Paramattha-Dīpani* That neither my husband nor any other competent critic of Pali or English has gone systematically through the work in proof-stage is a serious drawback, but there are limits to what one can ask of the patience, kindness, and leisure of others, as well as to the time during which a book can be suffered to block the way. Anyway, I have had the benefit of his ready help in most of the cruxes of the work, and in much besides. But there are a host of minor flaws, let alone greater ones. Dr. Neumann's presentation of each poem as a whole was of great preliminary assistance, and to differ from him in many a detail of interpretation was a healthy stimulus to closer inquiry, such as he will be content to reckon among the fruits of his pioneer venture.

Then as to the Commentary to which I have referred in the introduction to the *Sisters* — the whole of this long work was transcribed, during 1911 and half 1912, in considerably over a thousand foolscap pages, by the talent and indomitably sustained industry of my colleague Miss Mabel Hunt. Of her transcript the former half is in process of collation by Mrs. M. H. Bode with the Singhalese palm leaf copy, lent by the Royal Library of Copenhagen, which unfortunately comes to an untimely end at the *Solasa Nipāta* — in this volume, Canto V. The present translation could not await the help of that collation, hence to what extent the Burmese MS. will prove faulty, my readings from it will have suffered.

Even had it been consulted in a critically edited edition such as the Pali Text Society hopes in the near future to publish, the Commentary is doubtless no infallible guide, historically or grammatically. Its narrative contains much biographical myth, its exegesis is coloured by later developments of doctrine, and is twisted by professional exigencies of edification. Such historico-scientific defects were unfelt in Dhammapāla's age. He had no conception of historical criticism. If he quotes two versions of a Thera's story, he does not attempt to weigh the evidence, and make inferences as to historical truth. But to gird at

him for lacking anything so new-born in ourselves were to show an equal deficiency in historical sense

Now the Commentator alleges that there were Thera verses recited 'at the time of the first great Council' But he also relates that many Theras lived later than that, notably TEKICCHAKARI, in the reign of Asoka's father, and VITASOKA and EKA VIHARIYA, who are alleged to have been brothers of Asoka himself Their verses may have been incorporated in the Anthology at the 'Third Great Council,' held at Patna during Asoka's reign Dhammapala asserts that this was so in the case of the first named poet

There is nothing incredible in the view that the Anthology is thus a collection containing an early nucleus with later accretions There may well have been, among the constituents of the earliest body of the Dhamma, many such verses containing doctrines generally expressed, or personal confessions of faith associated with the names of particular teachers Dr Winternitz concedes as much for one or two of the stanzas which I have tabulated in the index as Refrain verses¹ It is probably true of many more The Sangha is said to have been an organization of over forty years' standing when its founder passed away It is inconceivable that its unwritten 'literature'—rules, transactions, tenets, homilies, hymns, etc.—should not, during those many years of young energy and endeavour, have also become to some extent organized

As the Sangha, during the next two or three centuries, continued to develop, so doubtless did the stock of gathās grow, till conceivably the collection of poems committed to memory by experts became a fluctuating quantity, so that revision and a definite selection became desirable And this, it appears, was effected at the Council of Patna

There may possibly have been further accretions before the time when the Pāṭikas were committed to writing Dr Winternitz suggests signs of later thought in KHANDA SUMANA S stanza² That of SANDHIT² is along similar lines

¹ *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur* (1913) II 88

² \CVI, CLXIV

But that the great bulk of the poems are relatively early seems probable by both the doctrine and diction of them. The former and the latter are true counterparts of the Four Nikāyas — the true Suttanta teaching, and its idiom, so far as that is metrical — ‘Anicca,’ ‘dukkha,’ ‘anatta,’ the Four truths, the Ariyan Path, the seven Buddhas, Arhants as no less *buddha* and *tathāgata* than their great Master,¹ and so forth — such is the range of the ancient Theravādism of these poems, no less than it is that of the Suttantas and the *Sutta Nipāta*, and the *Dhammapaṇi*.

If European Indologists eventually agree to refer the final inclusion of all but negligible increments to the Council of Patna (in the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign), there seems to be no valid reason why orthodox Buddhists should not concur with this. Admitting, then, this range of nearly two and a half centuries for the growth of the Anthology as such, and discounting the pious tradition that most of the putative authors were contemporaries of the first Theras, I am not so sceptically disposed as to see in most of the names of those authors a large number of literary fictions, nor, in many of the poems literary concoctions to explain so many names. A goodly proportion of the names are admitted by the Commentary, one or two by the text itself, to have been nicknames such as are so frequent in Indian literature.² The adoption of a new name on leaving the world for a religious order is of much later date. It is, however, not inconceivable that among the nicknames, one here and there may have been adopted by a poet to screen his identity, such a name, *e.g.* as Lone dweller for Prince Tissa Kumara, brother, according to Dhammapala, of the Emperor Asoka. But that name or legend is largely literary fiction is a supposition for which there seems no sufficient historical necessity. If the *Thera-thera gāthas* took two or three centuries to reach its present canonical proportions this permits on the average an output of between one and two completed

¹ Cf. *Vinaya Texts* i. p. 112 § 11 (1).

² Rhys Davids in *Dialogues of the Buddha* i. 193.

poems every year. And the Sangha was growing every year. Hence it must have contained a much greater proportion of men and women capable of poetical self expression than the relatively small number whose verses were deemed worthy of canonical honours. All is of course, conjecture, but I incline to think that a wholesale and indiscriminating scepticism as to the historical reality of the men and women whose names are attached to these poems is too easy. It is more likely than not that at some time within those centuries they lived, were members of the Order, and either composed, or in another way came to have associated with their self expression—in sermons or converse—the poems bearing their name.

I see no good reason to disallow this for the majority of the names. Some there are it is true, where the real individual does not stand out at all. Here it is not impossible there may have been one or more bhikkhus with whom the poem was associated, but the name may be either a sobriquet, or a name to the poem itself. Take the gāthā entitled *Mānava* (LXVIII, p. 73). The name means simply 'brahmin youth, just as *Kumara* means noble youth, *Junker*. The experience related is a phase in the legend of the Buddha himself, just as the story of *Yasa* (CXIII) also became a phase. But for the Buddhists—and for how many more than Buddhists'—it is typical of what might amongst us be called 'The Soul's Awakening'. And there may well have been a verse (compiled by some early long forgotten member of the Order)—perhaps a fraction of a longer poem about the Great Renunciation—expressing this typical phase, and bearing a typical name, analogous to our 'Everyman'.

Other numbers may be selected as bearing names equally shadowy. Thus discriminating, we come to see our cluster of Theras in a perspective like that of a Renaissance painter's aerial gallery—a row of saintly personages clearly portrayed in front and behind them, not bodies but just faces, leaning out from cloudy bars in all degrees of diminishing clearness.

The length of the biographical legend prefixed, together with citation of the corresponding legend from the *Apadāna* to each poem, varies greatly with each Thera. I have excised the whole of each story with the exception of the, for us, less mythical account of the saint's last and culminating span of life on this limited if indisputable earth of ours. The work, as we know, is early-medieval, and the purist—I use the term in all respect—may ill brook the juxtaposition of any of it beside the purer and more venerable Theravāda of the Gāthās. Let it, however, not be forgotten, firstly, that Dhammapāla claims to have based his Commentary on 'the method of the Old Commentary or Commentaries':

'*sakassay vannaṇaṃ yama dhāraṇe Sallhu Sūsanay
pubbicaṛiyasādhanaṃ tisthate: a vinicchayo,
tasmā tam-avalambitā ogāhi: āna pañca pi
Nihaye upanissāya Poranattakathā nayay
suvisuddhay asankinnay nipunatthavinicchayaṃ
Maha Vihāra rāsīnaṃ samayaṃ avilomayaṃ . . .*'¹

‘In order that the Master’s doctrine should bear its manifold explication, and the interpretation of those lions, the teachers of old, should be established, therefore [will I, hard though it be, to the best of my powers make a Commentary] resting upon that [interpretation], diving also into the Five Nikāyas, and in dependence on the method of the Old Commentary (or Commentaries)—so pure and unadulterated in its interpretation of subtle meaning—the concordant views of them that dwell at the Great Minster’

¹ From the opening stanzas of the Commentary. They are void of interest except the lines here quoted. Very similar lines preface the other parts of the *Paramattha Dipani*. The Br transcript reveals at once the error, so easy to make in reading Singhalese, standing in Professor E. Muller's edition of the *Therigutha Commentary*, undiscerned by me in the 'envoi' of the *Sisters*. There it is *Poranattha kakkū tayan* (triplet of Old Commentaries) instead of 'tayan'—'method'. As, however, there seem to have been three Commentaries in Ceylon in Dhammapala's time, the *tayan* may be virtually, if not formally, correct.

[of Anurādhapura, Ceylon] And this Old Commentary was probably the *Sihalattha itthū* (Sinhalese Commentary) which, in the relatively modern work *Saṭṭhaṇṇa Saṅgahā* is said to have comprised the 'Great [Minster] Atthakathā', the 'Great Raft' (*paṇṇāsi*), and the 'Great Kurunda Atthakathās'.¹ Hence the juxtaposition of the Theras' pre-Aśokan and Aśokan poems with the prose of six to nine centuries later is not so forced as at first sight it might seem. The matter and the method of the more modern work is not really a mushroom invention of story and editing exigencies. That work is but a recast or recompiled edition in scholastic Pāli of the older Sinhalese or Tamil prose framework. Set down in writing a few centuries before Dhammapala's time, the legends were oral tradition long before that. Seen in this perspective the Commentary has a venerableness of its own, bridging over the seas of time between Aśoka and the days of the great scholastics to a greater extent than at first appears. Lying inevitably as secular prose framing the sacredly intact verses it forms with these a picture, as it were, of wooded slopes of verdant growth clothing the hills that tower relatively unchanging above them—a picture that would lose if both features were not presented.

In the second place the presentation of verses, solemn or otherwise, in a framework of prose narrative is essentially the historical Buddhist way of imparting canonical poetry. Dhammapala's chronicles are, for the most part, unduplicated in any other extant work, but not seldom they run on all fours not only with parallel chronicles in Buddha-ghosa's Commentaries but also with the prose framework of poems in *Sutta Nipāṭa* or *Samyutta Nipāṭa* not to mention the *Jātaka*. Centuries divide the compilation of these three last named prose frameworks from the *Paramattha Dipanī* and yet we read on with no sense of rupture. And why? Because Dhammapala is following as he said the *naya* of the Old Atthakathā, or 'talk about the meaning' and that old talk came down to him unbroken, if varied in diction.

instituted in its proper order, and also eventually end of a still later age, committed to writing. And Dhammopala, recasting the 'Old Atthakatha, judged himself bound, not to revise the matter, or to make historical and literary criticisms about it, like us irreverent outsiders (*ito bahāddha*), but to follow the traditional 'method,' as he says, and set down pretty much what he found. Hence he does not speculate in footnotes on possibly bifurcated legends such as those of the two brahmins of Kosala *MIGASSA* (CL), and *VANGISA* (CCLXIV), nor on a possible confusion between the legends of *SOMAMITTA* pupil of *Vimala* and *VIMALA*, pupil of *Amit(t)a* (CXXIV, CLXXV), or between those of uncle *SANKICCA* and nephew *ADHIMUTTA* (CCL, CCLXIII), etc. The 'revised version' upon which he is engaged is not of the Canon itself, yet is it a very venerable adjunct to the sacred books, and he writes as one from whom an orthodox conservatism is expected, an *Achariyo* of the *Kāśīpura* school.

Secondly, the Commentary enables us to take a census of the various classes and districts from which these 209 poets were traditionally believed to have sprung. Thus we find of—

Brahmins	113 ¹
Khattiyas (<i>rajas etc. clansmen minister's son</i>)	80 ²
Owners or at least tenants of land cultivators	7 ³
Burgesses, such as <i>seṭṭhis</i> , or councillors commoners, merchants or simply 'rich men's sons (14)	53 ⁴
Craftsmen elephant trainers, caravan guides	9
Actor	1
Pariahs labourers slaves fisherman (1)	10
Illegitimate sons of kings sons of <i>religieux</i> ⁴	3
Sons of simply lay adherents	3
	<hr/> 209

¹ *Valunkya's* son is reckoned as of this class (CCLXV cf. XL)

² The four hut *theras* (LVI LIX) likened in circumstances to the *Vajjian rāja's* son (LV) are reckoned as also of this class

³ *Elayaka kūtumbika* I cannot class these according to *vaṇa*

⁴ *Gavampati* was a wealthy commoner's or *seṭṭhi's* son see *Pinaya Texts* : 110 I have used councillor for *seṭṭhi* as implying that

That a large proportion of these men of 'letters' should belong to the class which were the custodians of religious lore and sacred hymns was inevitable. The really interesting feature is that the residuum, consisting of nobler *en* trained in war, governance, and sports, of merchants, craftsmen, and the like, occupied with business, commerce, and constructive work, and of the illiterate poor, should be as numerous as it is. Or, indeed, that there should have been any of the last named group at all as composers of verses deserving inclusion in the Canon. In fact, it would not be entirely unreasonable to conclude that if four per cent of the canonical poets were drawn from the poor and despised of the earth, from whom no such products as verses could be expected, then the proportion of bhikkhus in general coming from that class may have been considerable. This suggestion is worth bringing up as showing that the Commentary does not altogether confirm the view that Buddhism at its inception had but little power to draw to itself the lowly, the wretched, and the suffering.¹

Another conclusion which the Commentary, in so far as it faithfully handed on more ancient traditions, goes far to modify, is that Buddhism was not for children nor for the childlike.² The testimony borne by some of the psalms to the youthfulness of the compilers and to the *Sasana* as attracting the young, is largely complemented by the Commentary. In contrast to the Brahmin ordinance which prescribed a retreat to a recluse's career for the declining years of life, the Sangha welcomed the young and was sceptical as to the average worth of old age renunciation.³ We find accordingly a goodly number of

the burgess so termed held some municipal post, head of a guild or the like. The word means simply *chief* or *desc.*

¹ Cf. Oldenberg *Buddha* 5th edition, p. 180 and n.

² *Ib.* 1

³ As Dr. Neumann points out in Upālis poem (CLXXX) where however *narapabbajita nara* 'novice new' does not necessarily mean 'young'. Cf. also *Ang.* iii. 78 and above (462) 'Thera' means

our poets leaving the world as youths and becoming arahants at the threshold of manhood MĀṆAVA, ADHIMUTTA, RĀHULA, SĀNO, KOMĀRA-KASSAPA, and many others. But a more striking feature yet is the group of child-arahants, a few of whom betray their childhood in their verses :—BHANNA, SANKICCA, SIVALLI, the SOPĀRAS, and SUMANA. In true Buddhist fashion, the age of seven is assigned to all at their ordination, as the typical childhood figure. And the childlike diction and ideas of the words put into their mouths are worthy of note.¹ We have only to compare the lines :

- (1) 'So too ye should be very good
Towards all creatures everywhere and everyone'

and

- (2) 'Then He asked me questions, He so skilled in questions
and so wise,
And unwavering, unaffrighted answered there the Master
I,' etc

and

- (3) 'An only child was I, to mother dear
And to my father dear,' etc

with any of the verses ascribed to adult and cultured arahants, however unknown elsewhere in the Canon's roll of honour :—

- (4) 'Errant in wilderness of heresies,
By their contagion dazed and led astray' . . .
(5) 'Curbed in the harness of right energy
Thou shalt not, O my heart, go far from me.'
(6) 'Showing a vision by the light of truth
Of things as come to be by way of cause.' . . .²

'elder' literally, but technically is simply 'senior.' Cf. Rhys Davids, .
v Elder, *Encyclopædia Religion and Ethics*.

¹ This does not apply to the abnormally precocious Sivall, nor to the words spoken of Sumana (2) by the Buddha.

² See, Sīṅgutta, how the little lad. . . .

and annexed to his gāthā.

³ CCXXVI, CCXL, LX, XXXIII, CCXVII, and CCXIV.

to discern at once the difference between the child's and the (cultured) adult's language and sentiments¹. Even if we see, in the little narratives of three of the poorest, most illiterate brethren — the peasant Samangala the vagrant, Kappatahura the scavenger Sumita² — an approach to the style of these child verses, yet does the standpoint, yet do the experiences, betray the adult mind. Hence the verses support the legend of the Commentary, and strengthen our belief in the faithfulness of the prose tradition which saw, in its great Founder, not only a mind of consummate wisdom, but a heart filled with tender compassion, strong and willing to save even these little ones, these *parulos trahendos*³. The stories of that net of insight spread in the early morning by the Master 'great in pity,' as the 'Buddha eye' surveys the suffering world, of the maturing light of emancipation 'shining as a lamp within a jar' even in the heart of a child, of the journeys to charnel field or to palace to save, as well as of the welcoming the parents' advent — these may possibly give us a truer picture of a movement sometimes held to be reserved for the middle aged well to do, and may even dispose us to adapt to it a later Divine saying 'Suffer me to come to the little children, for of such too is my kingdom that is within you'.

Thirdly, the Commentary, without calling for over much credulity, suggests a modification of the contrast lately drawn by Dr Winternitz,⁴ that a far greater proportion of

¹ Cf. the Pali itself

(1) *evag sabbesu pu esu sabbattha kusalo viya*

(2) *tato pa ihe aj ucchi may parh enag kovid viddi
acchambh ca abhito ca vyah viy satthuno al aj*

(3) *ekaputto ahas viy piyo mafa pi so pitu*

(4) *dittu igahanapakkhanna parimassena mahito*

(5) *viyadthuraniggahito na yito d itag gamissase citta t*

(6) *paticevypanna thammanay yathavulokadassano*

² V. III, CLX. CCXII

³ A phrase of Gerson's the mystic scholastic

⁴ Op cit, II. 1 p 83

the Sisters poems are occupied with external experience, than those of the Brethren, which deal more with introspective self expression. This at first sight is obviously true, a census yields us these results, roughly estimated

	External Experience.	Internal Experience	Mixed
Sisters' psalms 73	42	26	5
Brothers psalms 264	114	141	9 ¹

When, however, with the aid of the Commentary, we look * more closely into these 141 introspective poems of the Theras, we find that upwards of forty of them² are not confessions of personal religious experience, but hortatory verses, purporting to have been delivered as so many sermons to bhikkhins or to laymen, either in response to invitations, or as part of the duties of a Thera. Now the Sisters had, as we may infer from the Vinaya, but a limited scope as preachers. They occupied, according to the letter of the Sasana, the position of novices with respect to the Brethren, however 'senior (theri) a woman might be among the Sisters in age or in standing. When a Theri, in spite of this, was so gifted a teacher as to become, as such, a valued servant to the Order, her merits are duly recorded³. But there is practically none of the Sisters psalms that is professedly a *public* homily, even though such homilies are themselves the subject of at least one poem⁴. The chant of consolation to the bereaved mothers comes nearest to being one⁵. The poems are largely occupied with the getting out of their cage, and so they sing 'the strange things women carry under their silence, that silence of the centuries which is so profound that when it is broken their voice sounds like a cry'⁶. But to teach in due season was the duty of a Thera, and strangely is this at times overlooked by a want of sympathy, which sees in books like this a proof that the object of becoming a Thera was

¹ Eg Vangisa CCLXIV

² From the first Canto I have selected only XII XV XXIII XXIV XXVI LXXXV CVI CXIV

³ Cf Sisters p xxvi.

⁴ Sukka's xxix.

⁵ By Patācārā 1

⁶ M P Willecocks *Kings of Desire*

solely to live in solitude, absorbed, when not coming round with a bowl, in idle musings and ineffective sentiment! 'Go ye now for the welfare of the many . . . preach ye the doctrine . . . and I will go also, to preach' . . . ' was the general marching order given from the first. And that order the verses, as supplemented by the Commentary, show as being dutifully kept. To the 'close time' of respite we shall come presently.

If then we deduct from the 111 introspective poems at least 46, containing nothing but so many miniature versified sermons of relatively general, non subjective import—or, it may be, *metrical*; *sti na*, alone surviving of longer prose discourses—we get the following corrected table—

1000s	Hamblins	Paternal Experience	Internal Experience	Mixed
Brethren 2-4	46	114	9,	9

proportions which, while they still uphold the general truth of Dr Winternitz's statement, modify the significance of it to a considerable extent.

Fourthly, the so often reiterated record that the poems were first publicly uttered as 'confessions of *aññā*, deserves a passing word. The history of this term, of its use and of its non use, in Buddhism has yet to be written. Signifying literally *ad sciens*, 'ac knowledging' *aññā* is used in the Suttanta books to signify that mental flash, or *sammasambodhi*, of intuitive knowledge and assurance of 'salvation' constituting emancipation, or arahantship. The Buddha testifies to having realized it under the Bodhi Tree but uses the kindred less specialized word *ñāṇa*. In the mouth of bhikkhus such testifying was no guarantee of right (*sammā*) gnosis; it might be made through mental illusion, conceit, frenzy, or even evil design (*inuttara m*, 119). Genuine or *sammā d añañā* is, of course, intended by the Commentary. This in Dhammapada, verse 91, is rendered by Fausboll as *solutio committis*, by Max Muller, 'true knowledge'. That the testifying to it is as old as the Four Nikayas, appears from the little episode in the *Anguttara Nikāya*,

in 359 —Two disciples who have newly realized this intuitive knowledge or gnosis, wait upon the Buddha and testify to the same before him. As they again depart, the Buddha remarks 'Even so do men of true breed declare gnosis (*aññā*),—they tell of the good they have won (*attha*), but they do not bring in their ego (*attā*)'.¹ That the public individual testimony to the assurance of salvation won, invited yesterday and to day in Christian revivalist meetings should have been thus anticipated 2000 years ago in Buddhist usage, is an interesting link. And *aññā* is rarely met with except in connexion with the confession of the attainment of such consciousness—the 'fruition of arahantship' (*arahattaphala*).

Fifthly, whereas the Commentary lacks the inspired flame that touches now and again the varying quality of the more venerable Pāli verses, and reads often no better than mere fable, it does invest the poems very often with a heightened personal colour, revealing behind many of them a touch of background, like the quiet river threaded campaign, or the hill porched Vihāra of a Tuscan Holy Family or single saintly figure. And this is the more welcome in a book where the majority of the poems are ascribed to authors who are mere names, not met with elsewhere in the Canon. Of authors known to us, we hail the better acquaintance with, *e.g.*, (1) the gifted children of Sārī the brahmin lady,² when we now see the saintly Sārī PUTTĀ her eldest born advancing to visit the sick collectively in the infirmary, and again in the person of his own younger brother, the three boy nephews standing at attention, coached by anxious Uncle REVATĀ, or (2) with the faithful ANANDA doing sentry go with lantern and staff around the chamber of the

¹ The context shows that no derogatory judgment on confessions, such as these poems contain is implied but that only self conceit and self advertisement are condemned. Cf. *Dhammasangani*, § 1116 (*Bud Psj Ethics* 298f) and below verse 1076.

² A touching picture of Sārī trying to keep Revatā by her, the rest of her children and grandchildren having left the world is given in *Dhammajāla Commentary* ii 189f. Dr Barlingame is bringing out a complete translation of this lengthy but interesting work.

Man Beloved, or (3) with VAKKARI, tearing himself from that Beloved's presence, or (4) with KASSAPA the Great, vainly trying to escape his last marriage with her who had been his mate to him in previous lives. But it is no less pleasant to learn a little more than the mere name of others to see, as we read SUMANGALA's rough hewn words, the toil- and soil stained peasants at work in the fields, or 'Raga and-Rico' casting wistful glances at his old discarded gear, to feel behind LOMASA-KANONIA's doughty words the mother's fears, or the father's in JAMBUCAMIKKA's letter, or the midnight horrors from which little SOPAKA is rescued, or to bear in mind, as we read their delightful verses, EKAVIMBIRIYA's court-bred youth, and the dramatic and rhetorical proficiency of TALAPUTA. For the majority of these Theras, apart from their name in the Anthology, and their legend in the Commentary, are strangers to the Canon. And it is noteworthy that the finer poems belong on the whole, to these, rather than to the Theras who rank high in Vinaya and Suttanta.

In the limited if earnest lines collected under the great names of SĀRIPIṬṬA, MOGGALLĀNA, KOTṬHIYA, KAPPINA, PUNNA MANTAVIPUSĪTHA, we see no such poetic gift letting itself go as is heard in the musical, sparkling cadences of Kāludāyīn's opening

*Angarino'dāni dāni, bhānto,
phalesino chadanagāppakaya* (327),

in the deep and solemn rapture of BUḌḌA

*yada nabbie gāyati meghadundubhi
dhīraikulī uṭṭhāgapathe samantato* (522)

in the culminating roll of splendid compounds describing the Ariyan Path by MIGAJALA, beginning

Suddento Cakkhumata Buddhen'aduccaban ihuna (417),

in the swift stride, full of verve and grace, of EKAVIMBIRIYA's forest song

ane kassumasa cāpene pūḍḍhāre nuna sūḍale (315)

or in the long drawn sighs of TALAPLTA'S aspirations

ka li nu hay pabbatah indar nu ek ih jo ad luti jo vil assay
tay me idag tay nu kad i bhavissati? (1091)

Such lines as these, and many more, simply as word music, we may place without hesitation beside any passage of Keats and Shelley. The authors were doubtless capable of composing at least as much as did these two splendid minstrels, and it is possible that they concentrated their efforts, not on missionary or pastoral labours, but on versification. The worse luck for the world that such scanty portions should have been preserved!

Such matters Dhammapala does not discuss. The only distinction he draws between the Theras is to classify them, in his concluding remarks, not into (A) the eleven or twelve leading Theras usually grouped in the Vinaya and (B) the rest viz

(A) Sariputta	Cunda the Great
Moggallana the Great	Anuruddha
Kassapa , ,	Rorata
Kiccana „ ,	Upali
Kotthita „ „	Ananda
Kappina ,	Rahula

and (B) the other 247, nor into the 41 *agga saraha* of the *Anguttara*,¹ and the rest, but into Great (*maha*) and Ordinary (*pakati*) *saraha*, making together the company of *Agga saraha*. Of these the former (Great) were 80 in number, and he proceeds to enumerate 64 only of the 80 made up of 48 of the poet Theras and 16 others most of whom do not occur in the Canon. 'Why are these called Great Disciples? Because of the greatness of their Resolve (*abhinaya*), resulting in, it would seem, a more perfect evolution of knowledge in their last birth. Into his discourse on this point space will not allow further inquiry. But all

¹ *Anguttara Nikaya* i. 23-5. With the exception of two Bāhiya Daruciriya (cf. *Dhammapada Commentary* ii. 209 f) and Sāgata all of these distinguished followers are represented in the *Tieragallā*.

whom his last terms *Mahā-sārahā* are printed in the list above in capitals (p. ix f.).

We may, finally, note what the Commentary has to say concerning the monachistic proclivities of the poet-Theras, and, in particular, concerning an openly confessed love of, and admiration for, nature, strong enough in the hearts of some of these votaries of renunciation to invest their psalms with a glowing if gentle paganism, such as we have often complacently claimed as a monopoly of our modern poetry.¹ That the members of the Order were advised to cultivate the art of solitude, not only in the cell, but also and much more in the 'empty places' (*suññāḍārā*) of nature, is not only confessed to in these poems but is borne out by Vinaya and Suttanta. We read of the founder betraying a predilection for solitude, and that not within walls, but away in the forest.² Herein he confesses sympathy with the elephant (cf. Udayin's poem CCXLVII) which has broken away from the herd, with the 'rhinoceros wandering alone'.³ Was it not a wrench to leave that 'happy ease here alone, unaccompanied,' to go forth and spread the daily 'net of insight' to catch men? And solitude is commended to the disciple both for the better compassing of his own consummation —

'If a bhikkhu should desire . . . to know and realize and win Arahantship, emancipation of heart and mind, let him fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone, '

¹ This opinion finds expression again in Mr Havelock Ellis's 'The Love of Wild Nature' (*Contemp Rev*, February, 1909) 'It is highly improbable that any earlier or non-Christian writer had ever broken out into such a eulogy of the desert as we find . . . in Jerome's delightful epistles' Dr Winternitz's book bears testimony to this feeling for nature in other branches of Indian literature beside the Buddhist (i 7,404) But the latter strikes a more intimate note

² *Vinaya Texts*, ii 312 f

³ *Sutta Nipata*, 'Khaggavisāsa Sutta.'

⁴ 'Akankheyya Sutta,' *Majjhima Nikaya* translated in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Suttas*, S B E, ii Cf *Sutta Nipata*, verses 34 f

or in the long drawn sighs of TĀLAPUTA'S aspirations

*kada nu kay pabbatahāndarāsu chakko addutayo vi assay
tay me iday tay nu kada bhavissati ?* (1091)

Such lines as these, and many more, simply as word music, we may place without hesitation beside any passage of Keats and Shelley. The authors were doubtless capable of composing at least as much as did these two splendid minstrels and it is possible that they concentrated their efforts, not on missionary or pastoral labours, but on versification. The worse luck for the world that such scanty portions should have been preserved!

Such matters Dhammapala does not discuss. The only distinction he draws between the Theras is to classify them, in his concluding remarks, not into (A) the eleven or twelve leading Theras usually grouped in the Vinaya, and (B) the rest, viz

(A) Sariputta	Conda the Great
Moggallāna the Great	Anuruddha
Kassapa " "	Revata
Kaccana " "	Upali
Koṭṭhita " "	Ananda
Kappina " "	Rabula,

and (B) the other 247, nor into the 11 *Agga sāvaka* of the *Anguttara*,¹ and the rest, but into Great (*maha*) and Ordinary (*paḷatti*) *sāvaka*, making together the company of *Agga sāvaka*. Of these the former (Great) were 80 in number, and he proceeds to enumerate 61 only of the 80, made up of 18 of the poet Theras, and 16 others most of whom do not occur in the Canon. 'Why are these called Great Disciples? Because of the greatness of their Resolve (*abhinīhāra*),' resulting in, it would seem, a more perfect evolution of knowledge in their last birth. Into his discourse on this point space will not allow further inquiry. But all

¹ *Anguttara Nikāya* I. 235. With the exception of two Bhiyya Dāruśīriya (cf. *Dhammapadam Commentary* II. 209 f) and Sīgata all of these distinguished followers are represented in the *Theragāthā*.

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⁴ 'Akankheyya Sutta,' *Nagharua Nalāya*, translated in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Suttas*, S B I., vi *Of Sutta Nipāta*, verses 34 f

and also, in the intervals of his duties towards others, to restore vigour and maintain spiritual tone. There were woods and groves adjacent to most of the cities that witnessed the growth of Buddhism, although, for some of our recluses, nothing short of the deeper recesses of wild jungle sufficed.¹ But most consonant with the stronger temperaments were ever the heights — the fells dominating the meads of Magadha above Rajgir, or the foothills of Northern Kosala (Nepal and Sikkim) beyond which towered the snowy ramparts of mysterious Himavā —

*'to scla ramayanti may'*²

Such retreats were 'clean and pure,' 'a hiding place from the many folk,' and the haunt of saintly climbers³ like great Kassapa, presences to fortify, not disturb —

'Tone heights where saintly Bishus oft resort'

'Is't here, is't there,' in such scenes some of the best poets of these Theras, 'become at heart like creatures of the wild' (*migabhutena cetasa*), sought and found fit accompaniment to the story of their struggles and their victory.

On all this Dhammapāla's narrative touches but lightly, finding nothing morbid or exceptional about it. They 'loved the woods,' he simply remarks, 'it was to show the charm of the forest that he replied' — and so on. It is only with regard to the one purely pagan poem—that of SABBARA (CCXVI)—that his language has a touch of apology in it that is delightful — 'And because he showed herein his delight in empty places, this became the Thera's confession of añña⁴. Of pathetic interest, too, is the little

¹ Cf. CCXL, and others.

² 'They, the crags are my delight' See Kassapa's refrain, COLXI.

³ *Mihinda*, ii 353.

⁴ *Majjhima*, i 450, ii 121. It is a not infrequent conclusion to a Sutta for the Buddha to say 'Now have I made this clear to you. Here bhikkhus, are the roots of trees, here are empty places. Meditate, be earnest lest hereafter ye regret' *Eg.* *Majjhima* i 118, ii 802.

background of legend behind Woodland Vaccha (XIII), lover of the woods and born there, because his mother, yearning to see them, had ventured thither on an ill timed excursion. So fleeting as is this mother's form in the picture, it yet shows that the love of nature, if it finds no expression in the Sisters' verses, was not unknown to the heart of the Indian woman, but was part of that which lay under her silence of the centuries, only finding an outlet through her sons.

On the absence of this nature love in the Sisters' poems I have dealt with elsewhere. Man could afford so much better to range 'alone like the rhinoceros'¹ in the wild than woman, whom for so many centuries he had driven within doors, and looked upon as a prisoner of state or as a serf. And we can only guess that the sense of the great Mother's touch was on them, too, sometimes by a brief line here and there, reminding us, with an almost poignant pathos as I have said, of the halting notes of a bird first let out into the woods from its cage.²

The leaning of so many of our Theras, however to prolonged spells of monachistic life in wild, or at least, retired places, is perhaps not a safe guide by which to judge the early Buddhist Order generally. That Order gathered into itself every variety of temperament, every grade of religious capacity. Many of them were quite unfit for various reasons to make religious progress in solitude.³ And in one of Thera Sumana's verses, not included in this collection he summons the unfit to leave it —

*Infected as thou art by lust
By ill-will and illusion's taint
Come thou away and leave the wood!
This is the home of souls made pure
Of stainless anchorites austere
Defile not thou this purified
Come thou away and leave the wood!*⁴

¹ *The Quest* 'Love of Nature in Buddhist Poems' April 1910
c.g. *Sisters*, i 28 150

² *Ibid*

³ Cf. *Ang* iii 145 as explained by the Commentary quoted by Edmund Hardy in vol. v 392

⁴ *Mūlinda* ii 315

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³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Of Ang*, iii 145 as explained by the Commentary quoted by Edmund Hardy in vol v 892

⁵ *Milinda* ii 815

In fact, only the Arahant is pronounced to be really fit to dwell in such solitudes¹. And even among the Theras themselves we find instances of unfitness for the monachistic life, both through immaturity of training and through individual temperament—MEQUIYA, for instance (LXVI), UPALI (CLXXX), and ĀNANDA (CXIX, CCLX). In CUNDA's stanza, and in UPALI's legend, the respective advantages of monachistic and of cenobitic life are defined, and that Upālī's choice of the latter suited his temperament is confirmed by his record in the Vinaya. To judge by his gāthā, he had no distinctively poetic gift. The majority of bhikkhus, whether Theras or not, seem to have dwelt as cenobites in 'Viharas,' and in close touch with the laity, bound with these in a mutual dependence of give and take, spiritual and material. The Buddha was often largely attended, for there came to be a constant stream of bhikkhus, waiting temporarily upon him, from all directions. When not thus engaged, they probably, if we may judge by the Ceylon of to-day, lived in very small groups in groves or on hills. The Viharas were not the abbey and monasteries of mediæval Europe, but, for the most part, little groups of huts, fulfilling the work of rectory, *presbytère*, or house of call, where a Thera lived with a novice or two, preached to the laity, counselled them in difficulties, and taught their children.

Some temperaments, on the other hand, as we learn from *gāthā* and commentary, were less well fitted to the quiet routine of a pastor's or a social life². And among the motives urging them to seek solitude, a poetic gift may very well have counted. And further, as is revealed by the Buddha's encouragement of VASOISA's talent of versifying (CCLIV), it is probable that a disciple thus gifted would be suffered to cultivate his talent, in the wild or elsewhere, so only he used it to compose poems of sound doctrine, whereof, as I have suggested, this anthology is only a selection that has survived. Justly has Dr Oldenberg remarked

¹ *Anguttara* iii 13.

² Cf. *Sabbamittā* {149}, and *Khanda* i. What need have I as cenobite to dwell?

of TALAPUTA'S poem (CCLXII) 'Feeling, such as lives in these verses, is conceivable only as the growth of a culture that has won its way through much suffering. And to give expression to it as TALAPUTA has done, could only be done by a poet'¹ That is to say, by one who has not only an imperative need of articulate self expression, but who has also been able to devote himself, not as an amateur otherwise busy, but outright, to the cultivation of the art of verbal self expression. Briefly stated, our monachistic Theras sought out Nature as much because they were poets and children of Nature as because they were arahants. They present a unique blend of religious maturity, primeval shyness, and aesthetic sensitiveness. And very probably, given an efficient state of organization in the Order, to such exceptionally gifted men, exceptional leisure was accorded as a necessity for their proper development, and not in any way a concession to ethical slackness, or pagan and atavistic instincts.

These considerations apply, I need hardly say, only to those of the monachistically disposed Theras whose poetic talent was fruitful. It may be said that much leisure and lonely self communing was not required to turn out many of the short poems composing the majority of this collection. This is true. Not only is the literary gift in them very unequal, but unequal, too, is the florescence of any poetic capacity in the lives of most. Some writers of prose will confess, that at one period only of their lives 'everything seemed to run to metre' and even rhyme. Some conjunction of notable external experience and responsive internal development, recipient and synergic, has supervened, and for a brief space the rhythm of being becomes rhythmically articulate. Such a period must have been the spiritual crisis and the consciousness of spiritual victory in these authors, impelling them to a rhythmic *udana*, 'a breathing forth' of the tale, however brief, of their deep emotion. Possibly thereafter they relapsed into the prose of the religious life, teaching only by catechism, by protests, by the force of a blameless life.

¹ *Literatur des alten Indien* 1910, 102

So ĀNANDA —

'Gone are the chains the barriers all behind

And ANŌA KONDANŌA —

*'Sloughed off have I the dyings and the births
Wholly accomplishing the life sublime'*

And very many other lines might be quoted

The 'refrains' harp on a system (*sāsana*) which is 'done,' a quest of highest good which is won, a load laid down once for all, a cessation of further life force as imminent, and patiently awaited. That the Arahant is immune and cannot 'fall from grace' is a conviction that much of the *Kathā Vatthu* was compiled to emphasize. He had consummated, he had his reward. And the Thera poets and their Sister poets were ranked as saints of this kind.

Yet the early Buddhist standard of saintship was apparently not one that could accurately be called lax, or vaguely conceived. It was held to be realizable under temporal conditions, but they alone could realize that supreme attainment whose evolution was matured. And as for saints in all ages, so especially for these arahants with their outlook on life as a thing completed, an abnormal exceptional standard of values and of satisfactions is needed. They were the religious aristocracy of their age. The Christian saint like the Hebrew psalmist, never forgets the residual human frailty in himself, and leans perpetually on Divine sources to renew his strength —

*'Wein und Brod des letzten Mahles
Wandelt einst der Herr des Grades
Durch des Mitleids Liebesmacht
In das Blut das Er vergoss
In den Leib den dar Fr bracht*

The Arahant has evolved into that fifth and ultimate order of his universe *dhammata*, or the order (*niyama*) of the Norm (cf. verse 712) wherein holiness is the natural expression of his mental and moral being —

'O see the seemly order of the Norm !

It is a curious fact that, wherever there is perhaps nothing in which human beings vary so much as in the nature and extent of their religious needs and ideals, religion is the sphere in which we are the most determined to be democratic. Before the Most High of the creeds all men are equal. 'All have sinned and come short' 'all we like sheep have gone astray'. But while this is true the range of divergence in errancy and home returning is lost sight of, and saintly possibilities get reduced to a relatively low level. We speak vaguely of saints, but all we judge a creed need cater for 'here below' is sinners.

India has judged otherwise. In its doctrine of the individual life as an immensely prolonged self transmitting and evolving force, Buddhism saw in every individual at any given moment a phase of that evolution. During such phases the religious ideals of the individual were those of the layman or of the average *religieux* — moral health, the gentle teaching of the Blessed Masters, the well kept Sabbaths, the pious vows in illness, the docile solemnity at funerals, the aspiration to dwell hereafter with the gods, and so forth. But finally, one individual among a million or so reaches that final stage of life in which his evolution is consummated. The consciousness that this is so comes to him perhaps as the quiet but wonderful awakening from a sleep in which long and fevered dreams had harassed him, or again by the impressivo word of a teacher or again by a terrible rupture of his happiness, as with Harita — 'and he enjoying his lot with her' his wife was bitten by a black snake and died. And lo! the long maturing plant bursts into flower. The humanity which had been latently perfecting itself void of all greed, enmity, or illusion, reaches heights of insight and power of will undreamt of before. A vision of the ideal order in the cosmos is revealed. Awake he unto the great Awakened of all time, he tastes a wonderful joy in contemplating as with the eye of a god, the things that are and the way in which they have come to be, or he reaches out hands to guide and bless his less fortunate fellowmen. They listen as they worship.

and piously aspire, then go forth to work and play, much as they who have just arisen from a dream. But for him, it is they who have gone back to dreamland, for him, with all the light of a new spiritual day about him, with a vision ineffable of what the vistas of the past have led up to for him, now only is he truly, once for all, and always *buddho*—awake.

And so great was the zest and joy of these altered ideals and widened retrospects, so deep the peace and calm following on the complete emptying himself of the world's standard of values as the greater presences arose and filled the scene, that all questions concerning any fate awaiting him beyond this most wonderful present were blotted out. The moment of all the ages had come, beyond that time for him was not. In casting out that which insured life's renewal, he had laid low the ancient burden of that life's tale. And how could he conceive a future existence of travel elsewhere, whose boat had already grounded on the shore of the beyond? No forward view remained for him who was there already, who was *paragā*?¹

We may call these men and women sick in a sick age. If so, it was of a fairly divine distemper, and one that does not wholly show symptoms of decadence or senility. For it attacked chiefly the young. 'Why have you who have suffered in nothing left the world?' these men and women in the prime of life were asked. And the temper of these is not at all languid, weary, or disgusted with the fact that, as victorious they yet live. Again, in depreciating the human body (as deserving to be *anything more* than a healthy instrument for spiritual life) they do not speak of it as a weary machine, running down day by day, nearly so much as of a clumsy and offensive and most unfortunately constructed complex.

Not theirs, again, because 'we walk ever near to death,'² to eat, drink and be merry. Were they to do so, that 'death who puts an end to ills,' when it is final, would

¹ Verses 766-749-771

² *Of Ratthapala* p. 304

³ Verses 278, n. 2

be multiplied into a myriad more successive dyings. Not theirs too, the foolishness of seeking to hold, and to quarrel that they might hold; it is only they who 'never really understand that we are here but for a little spell' who quarrel.¹ Again, the distemper made the Arabant as fearless as the Christian martyr. Humans are, perhaps, on the whole braver than they were—anyway, the felt conquest of fear is a distinct feature in the Psalms, notably in the Brethren's. The Sisters hardly echo this sentiment. 'No fear cometh' [in Nibbāna], says one, and another calls her Saviour 'Akuto-bhayag,' 'Him who hath the No-whence [cometh] fear.'² But both sexes exult in a calm serenity and fortitude that can face hardship, suffering, and, like young ADHIMUTTA,³ death, in spite of—they would say, because of—their conviction:

*'Now is there no more coming back to be!'*⁴

Diseased then they may have been, yet did their ailment thrive with an ethics that kept their lives pure, and sweet, and steadfast and very largely occupied with pastoral and missionary effort.

*'With all am I a friend, comrade to all,
And to all creatures kind and merciful'*⁵

*'One should exhort, one should instruct, forbid,
Hinder that which is mischievous and wrong.'*⁶

They stood for the social reforms of their day, teaching goodness, amity, the simple life, the abolition of sacrificial and other slaughter, and of the barriers of rank and

¹ Sabhaya's poem, read superficially, may seem true. To me it was a striking echo of M. Bergson's voice at his second London lecture, 1911: '... that death of each of us, in which we do not really believe. Why do I say that? Because, if we really believed that we should each of us die, we should act so differently from what we do.' And it is no less haunting

² *Sisters*, verses 135, 512.

³ CCXLVIII.

⁴ Sīlavatī is teaching the quite immature when he adverts to the 'joys of heaven' (CCXLI).

⁵ Verse 648.

⁶ Verse 994.

*'For if a faith some Man the world's corruptions
Sweep not away as wind the lowering clouds,
The world were shrouded wholly in thick darkness
And even the brighter minds would lose their light'*¹

Now it is the saving, misionary spirit exhorting contemporaries, or bewailing the religious decay of posterity, that should follow the golden morning of a renescent Norm. Again, it is the happy ease attending life purified and simplified, the cool and steadfast pulse in place of the old fevered fret and longing, and greatly, as we have seen, is that joy intensified when felt through 'the calm great nights and days'² of life in the wild, and in freedom from the wearing irk and jar of the world's nightmare dream.

I have added (in the Appendix) a roughly approximate table of those matters concerning which the psalms constitute, in Thera phrase, a 'lion's roar,' or song of victory, or of religious testimony. This may serve not only for comparison with a similar table in the companion volume of the Sisters, but also to show how far are these verses from sameness and monotony, *even when viewed apart from the particular circumstances of each singer*³. Not all of these themes will appeal to all of us, but it is not given to man to prescribe unity for men either in Path or Goal. I can remember as a child hearing in my home divines discussing hymns. And one, a rascular parish priest, derided the hymn—

*O Paradise! O Paradise!
Tis weary waiting here
I want to be where Jesus is
To see, to feel Him near!*

as unworthy of Christians who were zealous to work for him here and not weary in well doing. 'But,' remarked a gentle, wistful-eyed man from Oxford 'was there not once a tired saint who wrote of himself "having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better"?'⁴

¹ Verses 120, 1268

² W. Watson

³ Winternitz *op cit* p. 81

⁴ Philippians i. 23

In the Thera hymns is a like manifold of harmonies for those who are not sunk over the ears in one tradition only. If the psalms of Arhants suit moderns no more than they will have suited the immature layman and cleric of Asoka's days and earlier, let us not say, So much the worse for the moderns! Let the latter be willing to admit a certain aristocracy in the evolution of the religious spirit. Let it be frankly understood as not implying any morbid symptoms in the saint, or incapacity for either vision or growth in us who from the Theras' point of view, may all be as Edwin Arnold a line has it 'on the upward way,' but are yet at all degrees of distance from the top. The 'many-folk' (*pañhujana*) could play with religion, put it on and doff it again. The *śākhā* could not so compromise. When the former are now and again confronted by the dread shapes—

*Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh —
Disease decay and death dread trinity*¹

they stay awhile to listen to Thera strains. For the Thera this was no transient mood, but one that had diverted the whole current of his life setting him apart and 'free

Talo eittay vinnucci me!
*O then my heart was set at liberty!*²

Out of joint thenceforth with the ways of those who temporized, he felt only safe and at ease precisely when conscious, or at least sub-conscious of this misfit. His is a bliss which rings for him the more truly precisely in proportion as it is not consonant with the joys of the immature

* * * * *

To other more competent hands I leave the fascinating task of bringing these 'Varieties of Religious Experience'—unknown, alas! to W. James, as to his successors thus far in that field—into comparison with the religious self-expression of other lands and other times, as well as with other Indian literature. Just as both Dr. Winternitz recently, and Professor Ed. Müller thirteen

¹ Verse 4.10

² Cf. verse 6.10 f., and *passim*

years ago, have already compared Sister Subha with SS Lucy and Bridget (*op cit*, 86, 1, quoting the latter authority), just as, in the photographs before me of S Caterina's home, a fresco shows her repeating Sumedhā's cutting off her own hair to force the hand of those who would keep her from 'going forth', and just as Kisagotamī may be said to have quite a little comparative literature of her own,¹ so among the Brethren might a number of interesting parallels be discovered. The present volume is but a pioneer attempt to present the poems and some of their prose in English dress, in the hope that this may facilitate worthier treatment by the more competent.

The metres which alternate nearly always between the *śloka*, and variants in *trishtubh* and *jagati*² are another subject awaiting competent discussion in a field where the rules of prosody have been decided only by later forms of poetry. In the Brethren's poems, whatever be the cause, the metre is changed during the poem oftener than is the case with the Sisters. Such changes have been indicated by some corresponding change in the English metre.

The crude forms (Ānanda for Ānando, etc.) used for the names involve more difficulties than is the case with the more uniform terminations of female names, and the choice, where the crude form is, in vocative case or compound, not a hard and fast rule will find critics, and to what extent it really matters, deservedly so.

For photographs kindly sent and for permission to reproduce illustrations my sincere thanks are due to J H Marshall Esq, Director General of Archaeology Simla Mrs Jayasundare Galle Rev Ananda Metteyya, Rangoon, A D Imms, Esq, D Sc, the Clarendon Press, and Mr Fischer Jena publishers of Schimper's *Plant Geography*.

C A F RHYS DAVIDS

¹ Cf J H Thuesen's essay *Die Legende von Kisagotamī* 1880 already quite a venerable work in the growing literature of Indological research.

² See verses (417) (527), (622) respectively.

PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

WITH SELECTIONS FROM THE

CHRONICLE IN DHAMMAPALA'S COMMENTARY

ENTITLED

'PARAMATTHA DĪPAṆI' (PART V)

PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

(THERA GĀTHĀ)

Honour to the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme.

*As to the call of distant lions' roar
Resounding from the hollow of the hills,
List to the psalms of them whose selves were trained,
Telling us messages anent themselves
How they were named, and what their kin, and how
They kept the Faith, and how they found Release.*

*Wise and unfaltering they lived their lives,
Now here, now there they saw the Vision gleam,
They reached, they touched the ageless, deathless Way,
And retrospective of th' accomplished End,
They set to speech these matters of their quest.¹*

¹ These verses, writes Dhammapāla, 'were composed by the venerable Ananda at the time of the First Council, in praise of these Theras' — a pious but unsupported tradition. 'Distant lions' is in the Pali 'toothed lions'. 'Faith' is Dhamma. 'Way' is *paday*, a word of wide import, defined in the Commentary thus: 'Nibbāna, so called from its being unmixed with conditioned things, and from the necessity of practising (or walking in) it by those who seek it.' Cf. XCII, n.

The opening simile has older precedents, notably in a stanza ascribed to the Master himself:

*But they who in the bosom of the hills
Sit with heart strongly purged and well-composed,
Like to so many lions crouching still,
Are quiescent over the creeping dread,
White-minded, pure, serene and undefiled*

Dialogues of the Buddha, ii 285

CANTO I

PSALMS OF SINGLE VERSES

PART I

I

Subhuti

REBORN in the time of our Buddha at Svasthi in the family of councillor Samana younger brother of Anatha pindula, he was named Subhuti.¹ Now on the day when the Jeta Grove, purchased by his uncle, was presented to the Exalted One, Subhuti was present, and when he heard the Norm, he found faith and left the world. Receiving ordination, he mastered the two categories (of Vinaya rules)² Thereafter a subject for exercise in meditation was given him to learn, and he went into the forest and practised it. Developing insight on the basis of love jhana,³ he won arahantship. And he, teaching the Norm without distinctions or limitations became chief among the brethren who cultivated universal amity. And because, while going round for alms, he fell, at house after house,

¹ In the days of Padumuttara Buddha sons earlier when this Thera was said to have made the resolve that determined the rest of his existence he was named Nanda. The Chronicle here gives a brief account of the building of the Vihāra the great college in Jeta's Grove by his uncle as told more fully in the introduction to the Jatakas. See Rhys Davids *Buddhist Birth Stories* p. 130.

² See *Vinaya Texts* I 273 ill. 2 n. 'Norm' is 'Dhamma'.

³ Rapt but ordered mentality, induced by some specified mode of self hypnosis and here concentrated on suffusing its objects with universal goodwill (*Bud P. J. G. J. P. B. Vinaya* 277).

into love jhāna, taking his alms when he emerged from revenue, this was judged to bring great reward to his almoners and he became chief among them that were held worthy of gifts. Wherefore the Exalted One said 'Subhuti, bhikkhus, is the chief of my bhikkhu disciples in universal¹ amity, and chief among such as are held worthy of gifts²

So this great Brother, travelling about the land for the good of the many, came in due course to Rajagaha. King Bimbisara heard of his coming, and went to salute him, bidding him, 'Here, your reverence, be pleased to dwell, and I will make you a dwelling place.' But, going thence, he forgot. The Brother, receiving no shelter, meditated in the open air. And because of the Brother's dignity, the god rained not, so that the people were oppressed with the drought and raised a tumult at the door of the King's house. The King asked himself for what reason the god rained not, and judged it must be because the Brother was in the open. So he had a leaf hut made for him, and saluted him saying, 'Be pleased, lord, to dwell in this leaf hut,' and so deputed. The Brother entered, and seated himself cross-legged on the couch of hay. Then the rain began to drip drop by drop, not in a torrent. But the Brother, wishing to allay the people's fear of drought, declared the absence of any danger to himself from without, or from within, by uttering the verse

Well-roofed and pleasant is my little hut,
And screened from wind—Rain at thy will,
 thou god!¹
My heart is well composed my heart is free,
And ardent is my mood. Now rain, god! rain!² (1)

¹ *Indriyasāla*. See my review of Dr A. C. Taylor's edition of the *Uttarāyana Sutta*, *JRS*, January, 1905.

² See *Anguttara Nikāya*, i 24 where a number of brethren, sisters and the laity are formally recognized as excelling each in a specific attainment.

³ *Dhammapāṭi* states that *deva* here refers to the spirit or deity of the thunder cloud, *Pajjunna* or *Lajjunya*—*i* *th* *y* *i* *meghe Pajjunne* *ti*

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Subhūti utter his Psalm.¹

And the verse was his confession of Añña.

II

Kotthita the Great.

Reborn in this Buddha-age² at Sāvattthī, in a very wealthy clan of brahmins, he was named Kotthita³. When he was come of age he had learned the three Vedas, and perfected himself in the accomplishments of a brahmin. He heard the Master preach the Norm, found faith, and entered the Order. Practising insight from the day of his ordination he attained arahantship, together with thorough mastery of the form and meaning of the Norm⁴. As proficient

darhabbo Sutta Nipāta, verse 18, Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, 167 ff., *Buddhist India*, 336 Cf. LI-LIV, CLV.

The Commentary leaves the option of seeing in 'but' a metaphor for the body. This being in good training through discipline, the 'heart' no less so through jhāna, and insight, through knowledge, the verse gives in miniature the end of the threefold *sikkhā* (training). See my *Buddhism*, chap. viii, cf. below, LVII, etc.

¹ This affirmation is canonical matter, doubtless by the editors. The following sentence is the Commentator's. 'Anñā' means gnosis or intuitive enlightenment, constituting the guarantee of Arahantship. *Majjhima*, i 479, *Saṅgutta*, ii 221.

We meet with Thera Subhūti elsewhere only in *Udāna*, vi 7, where the Buddha commends his proficiency in meditation, and in *Questions of King Milinda*, ii 315, 323, where his verses (not found elsewhere) are quoted. See Appendix (below).

² *Imasmīy Buddhuyyāse*. Lit. not 'age,' but arising, advent. The period, however, includes the whole, etc., the last life, of the great teacher, hence only 'age' seemed to fit. The phrase alternates with *ālo*, *saṃayo*, 'tune.'

³ Pronounced Kott'hita. The name is also recorded as Kotthika and Kotika. The Thera is evidently the one included among the 'Great Elders' in *Vinaya* and *Suttanta*, the interlocutor in several Suttas—e.g., *Majjhima Nikāya*, i 292, *Saṅgutta Nikāya*, ii 112, *Ang Nikāya*, i 24, etc. See *Vinaya Texts*, ii 112, 317, in 859.

⁴ On this technical phrase, see *Sisters*, p. 17, n. 1.

herein he used to question the great *Theras* and *Him-of-the-Ten-Powers*¹ about them. Hence it came that he was held chief of those who were thus proficient. Then the Master, having shown his attainments in the *Vedalla-Sutta*, ranked him chief of those who were proficient in insight.²

He, on a later occasion, conscious of the bliss of emancipation, broke forth in this verse:

Whoso, serene and calm, dead to the world,
Can utter wisdom's runes,³ with wit unswelled,
Unruffled—he doth shake off noughty things
As they were forest leaves by wind-god⁴ blown (2)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Mahā-Koṭṭhita utter his psalm.

III

Kankhā-Revata.

(Revata the Doubter)

He was reborn in the days of our Exalted One in a wealthy family of *Savatthī*. And as he stood in the outermost ring of those who went after dinner to hear *Him-of-the-Ten-Powers* preach, he believed, and thereupon entered the Order. And he attained arahantship by way of practising *jhāna*; and so proficient in *jhāna* did he become, that the Master pronounced him chief of the *bhikkhus* who practised it.⁵

¹ A title of the Buddha, frequent in scholastic works. It was at first applied equally to Arhants. Cf. *Ang.* ii 63; *Samy.* ii 28. The powers are enumerated in *Mayh.* i. 69 71.

² *Ang.* i 23, *Mayh.* i 222.

³ *Mantra* or *mantras* an allusion to his brahman or Vedic training. The next two phrases are a rendering of the one word *anuddhato*, which the Commentary connects with *uddhacca*, excitement.

⁴ *Māluho*, wind, may possibly have ceased to suggest the Vedic *Māru*ts, or wind gods, at this date. Cf. *Sisters*, p. 160.

⁵ *Ang. Nīk.* i 24.

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Subhūti utter his Psalm¹

And the verse was his confession of Añña

II

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datthabbo Sutta Nipāta, verse 18, Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, 187 f., *Buddhist India*, 336 Cf. LI-LIV, CIV

The Commentary leaves the option of seeing in 'hut a metaphor for the body. This being in good training through discipline, the 'heart' no less so through jhana and insight, through knowledge the verse gives in miniature the end of the threefold sikkhā (training). See my *Buddhism*, chap. viii., cf. below, LVII, etc.

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² *Imasmim Buddhuppiṇe* Lit., not 'age' but arising advent. The period however includes the whole, i.e., the last life, of the great teacher: hence only 'age' seemed to fit. The phrase alternates with *kālo, samayo*, 'time'.

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He, on a later occasion, conscious of the bliss of emancipation, broke forth in this verse:

Whoso, serene and calm, dead to the world,
Can utter wisdom's runes,³ with wit unswelled,
Unruffled—he doth shake off naughty things
As they were forest leaves by wind-god⁴ blown. (2)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Maha-Kotthita utter his psalm

III

Kankhā-Revata.

(Revata the Doubter)

He was reborn in the days of our Exalted One in a wealthy family of Sāvattthī. And as he stood in the outermost ring of those who went after dinner to hear Him-of-the-Ten-Powers preach, he believed, and thereupon entered the Order. And he attained arahantship by way of practising jhāna; and so proficient in jhāna did he become, that the Master pronounced him chief of the bhikkhus who practised it.⁵

¹ A title of the Buddha, frequent in scholastic works. It was at first applied equally to Arahants. Cf. *Ang.*, ii 63; *Samy.*, ii 23. The powers are enumerated in *Majjh.*, i 69-71.

² *Ang.*, i 23, *Majjh.*, i 232.

³ *Mantra* or *mantras*, an allusion to his brahman or Vedic training. The next two phrases are a rendering of the one word *anuddhato*, which the Commentary connects with *uddhacca*, excitement.

⁴ *Mūlato*, wind may possibly have ceased to suggest the Vedic *Māruts*, or wind gods, at this date. Cf. *Sutera*, p. 150.

⁵ *Ang. Nik.*, i 24.

His task accomplished thus, this great Brother reflected on the inveterate tendency of his mind to doubt,¹ now wholly overcome, and praised the might and wisdom of the Exalted One, whereby his mind was now calm and steadfast, saying

Behold how great the wisdom is of Them
Who Thus have come!² As fire at midnight hour,
Givers of light, givers of sight are they
To those that pass, subduing all their doubt (3)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Kankhā Revatā utter his psalm

IV

Puṇṇa of the Mantanis

He was reborn in the days of our Exalted One, in an eminent brahmin clan at the brahmin village of Dona vatthu, not far from Kapilavatthu. He was sister's son of the Elder Hondaṇṇa³ and was named Puṇṇa. And after performing all the duties of his novitiate, he put forth every effort till he had accomplished the highest duties of a recluse. He thereupon went with his uncle to dwell near the Master, leaving the neighbourhood of Kapilavatthu. And thoroughly intent in practice he not long after became an arahant.

Now Puṇṇa came to have a following of 500 clansmen who had also left the world. And because he himself had

¹ This tendency is mentioned in the *Apadāna*. The sobriquet it earned may have been maintained undeservedly to distinguish Revatā from the more distinguished Mahā Thera Revatā, co-Director of the Council of Vesālī (*Vinaya Texts* ii 317 cf 65).

² *Tathāgata*. For a full exposition of this famous term the Comy refers to the *Udāna* and *Iti Vuttaka* Commentaries. Cf J H Moore *Sayings of Buddha* p 131, Sir R Chalmers *JRAS* 1898 103.

³ See Ps CCXLVI. His full name distinguishes him from the Puṇṇa of LV.

acquired the ten bases of discourse¹ he taught his followers therein till they, too, became experts and arhants. They thereupon desired him to take them to the Master. But he, judging it unfitting to go surrounded by them, bade them go on and promised to follow them. They, being all fellow-countrymen of Him of the Ten Powers, walked the sixty yojanas to Rajagaha, and, in the great Vihara of the Bamboo Grove² found him and did obeisance to him. Now, when bhikkhus come to Buddhas, the Exalted Ones, it is customary for friendly greetings to be exchanged. Wherefore the Exalted One asked them 'I hope brethren, that you are well and have pleasantly rested. Whence come ye?' 'From your own country, lord,' they replied. Then he asked if there were a bhikkhu who knew the Ten Subjects, saying 'Who, brethren, of such fellow countrymen of mine is capable himself a simple liver, to discourse on the simple life?' 'Punna lord the venerable son of the Maninis.'

And when the Master went from Rajagaha to Swatthi Punna went thither and, in the Fragrant Chamber,³ was taught the Norm. And Sariputta desiring to meet him went after him to Duk Wood, whither he had gone to meditate on the Master's words, and found him resting beneath a tree. And they dis-coursed of those words, and had joy of each other, Punna winning his heart by the parable of the posting by chariot.

Now the Master proclaimed Punna chief among the bhikkhus in preaching the Norm⁴. And he one day, reflecting near the Master on the emancipation he had won

¹ The ten Kathāvatthus according to the *Abhiṅgaparipīṭi* are Simple Living Content Detachment Segregation Endeavour Morality Concentration Understanding Emancipation Knowledge with Insight.

² See *Sisters* p. 81.

³ The Buddha's own cell at the Jetavana. See *Sisters* p. 11.
JR 15. 19.

⁴ Ang. 1. 93. The interview with Sariputta after the bhikkhus testimonial is told in *M. jhā. 2* ('Rathavimuta Sutta') 1. 146j. Further testifying to his teaching and influence occurs in *Saṃj.*, ii. 108 in 10. f.

bethought him 'Verily to me and many others, delivered from the round of sorrow, how great a help is communion with good men' And with joy and enthusiasm he uttered this verse

Aye with the good consort, with them
 Who know, who understand who see the Good¹
 Great is the Good and deep and hard to see
 Subtle and delicately fine, to which
 The wise and brave do penetrate, e'en they
 Who strenuous live and lofty vision gain (4)

Thus verily did the venerable Punna of the Mantānis utter his psalm

And the Brother explained that the psalm contained his affirmation of anua

V

Dabba²

(Of the Mallas)

He came to birth in the family of a clansman of the Mallas,³ at Anupiya. As a child of seven he saw the Master when the latter visited his country and home, and was so attracted that he asked his grandmother, his mother having died at his birth,⁴ if he might leave the world under the Master. She brought him to the Master, who bade a bhikkhu ordain him. And the boy, being one in whom past causes and an aspiration were taking effect realized the Four Paths in succession, in the very act of having his curls cut off.

¹ *Att'a*, the subject discussed with Sūriputta

² *Cf* below verse 1216. On this eminent Brother see also *Vinaya Texts* iii 418 *Jātaka*, I 21 *Udāsa* viii 9 *Ang Nā*, 23

³ Lat., of a raja of the Mallas a confederation of independent clans located by the two great Chinese pilgrim chroniclers on the mountain slopes eastward of the Buddha's own clan

⁴ *Before* his birth according to the Commentarial tradition

And when the Master left the Mallas' country for Rājagaha, Dabba, meditating alone, and desirous of devoting his body to the service of the Order, considered that he might both apportion night's lodging and direct to meals. The Master sanctioned his doing so, and his success herein, and his supernormal power herein, lighting the brethren to their lodgings with his shining finger, is told in the Pali narrative.¹

But it was after the baseless calumny,² wherewith the bhikkhus who followed Mettiya and Bhummajāla sought to ruin him, had been condemned by the Order, that the Brother, conscious of his virtuous compassion for others, uttered this verse:

Once hard to tame, by taming tamed is now
Dabba, from doubts released, content, serene. " "
Victor is Dabba now, and void of fears;
Perfected³ he and staunch in steadfastness. (5)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Dabba utter his psalm.

VI

Sīta-Vaniya.

This is the psalm of the venerable Brother Sambhūta. He was reborn at Rājagaha as the son of an eminent

¹ *Vatthu pāliya*—viz., in Khandaka IV. See *Vinaya Texts*, III 4 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp 10-18

³ *Parinibbuto*. On this Dhammapāla comments: 'There are two *parinibbānas*—the *parinibbāna* of evils (*kilesā*, the "ten torments," or "bases of corruption", see my *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, p 327 ff), which is the element of Nibbāna, wherewith is yet remaining stuff of life, and *parinibbāna* of *khandhas* (factors of personality), which is the element of Nibbāna without that remainder. Here the former species is meant, inasmuch as there had been an entire putting away by the Path of everything that should be put away' Cf *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 168, my *Buddhism*, p 191

seeing the trouble in the perpetuation of life,¹ he left the world in anguish, and putting forth every effort soon acquired sixfold abhiññā. Now when, as arahant, he was living in the bliss of fruition, his former wife tried to lure him back in various ways. But the venerable Vira said: 'This woman, desiring to seduce me, is like one wishing to shake Mount Sineru² with the wing of a gnat.' And he showed her how futile it was by his psalm:

Once hard to tame, by taming now is tamed
Vira, from doubts released, content, serene;
Victor is Vira, free from creeping dread;
His is the goal supreme, and steadfast strength (S)

The woman, hearing him, was deeply moved, and thought: 'My husband has won to this—what good is domestic life to me?' And she went forth among the Sisters, and soon acquired the Three-fold Lore.³

IX

Pilinda-Vaccha.

Reborn at Sāvattthī as a brahmin's son, before the Exalted One became a Buddha, they named him Pilinda, Vaccha being the name of his clan. He became a recluse, and acquired the charm called the Lesser Gandhāra,⁴ deriving therefrom great renown. But when our Exalted One became Buddha the charm ceased to work. He having learnt that the Greater Gandhāra spell stopped the Less,

¹ Lat., in Saṃsāra, 'continual going on' Cf. XCIX.

² See *Sisters*, verse 384. Pronounced Sine'ru.

³ Cf. p. 29, n. 1. This triple acquisition forms three of the six *abhiññā*, or *supermāras'abhiññā*, p. 32, n. 1.

⁴ On the Gandhāra Viya, or charm—not, as here, distinguished as twofold—see *Dialogues*, I. 278. Cf. *Jat.*, iv. 498 f. The charm is here said to confer the power both of going through the air and of thought-reading. The identity of this Thera with the Pilinda-Vaccha of Rājagaha (*Vim. Texts*, v. 61) is doubtful, yet cf. next p., n. 2.

concluded that Gotama the recluse knew the former, and he waited on him in the hope of acquiring it asking if the chance might be granted him. The Exalted One answered 'You must leave the world. He, fancying that this was a preparation for the charm,¹ did so. To him the Exalted One taught the Norm, and gave him exercise in meditation, so that he, the conditions being ripe, attained arahantship.

Now one who, in consequence of Pilinda's guidance in a former birth had gone to heaven as a deva, waited on him morning and evening out of gratitude. Hence the Brother was distinguished as one dear to the gods, and was ranked chief among the brethren who were such by the Exalted One.*

And Pilinda one day, sitting among the brethren, and reflecting on his success declared to them how the charm had brought him to the Exalted One uttering this psalm

O welcome this that came, nor came armies'
 O goodly was the counsel given to me!
 Among divers doctrines mooted among men
 Of all true sure the Best I sought and found. (8)

\

Pupphamasa

Reborn in this Buddha age as the son of Samiddhi a brahmin of Savatthi, he left the world when a son was born to him, and entering the Order under the Exalted One, took the Four Truths as his exercise in meditation, and became an arahant. His former wife sought to seduce him from his faith, visiting him adorned, and with her

¹ This fresh renunciation (*pabbaya*) must have meant entering the Order although this is not stated. Contrast with Pilinda's mistaken view *Dialogues* i 278 and *ib.*, XXIV § 4. Cf. *Vagga* CCLXIV.

² *Ang.* i 24 the Cr. on which quotes *Ud.* *mag.* *ib.* 6.

child But the Brother, showing his utter detachment,
uttered this psalm

All longings as to this or other life
Have I put far from me, as one who hath
Betaken himself to truth, whose heart is at peace,
Who self subdued, in all things undefiled,
Discerns the world's incessant ebb and flow (10)

Then the woman thinking 'This holy man cares not for
me nor for the child, I am not able to persuade him,'
went away :

PART II

XI

Gavaccha the Less.

REBORNS as a brahmin at Kosambi, and hearing the Exalted
One preach, he entered the Order At that time the
bhikkhus of Kosambi had become contentious² Then
Gavaccha the Less, not taking part with either side, re-
mained steadfast in the Exalted One's admonition, and
developing insight, attained to arahantship And seeing
in the bhikkhus quarrelsome tastes what might have been
the downfall of his own good he reflected with joy and
enthusiasm on his own contrasted state, saying

Abundantly this brother doth rejoice,
For the blest truths the Buddha hath revealed
Are his, and he hath won the Path of Peace,
And has the bliss where worldly cares are stilled (11)

¹ A curious feature about this story is the repetition of it again
as Punnamāsā in *Canto II*, the *Commentator* taking no notice of the
substantial identity in legend and authorship See P. CXLVI

² They seem to have been incorrigibly so in spite of the Buddha's
earnest and repeated exhortations (*Vaṅṣ*, i 320 ff 513)

XII

Gavaccha the Great.

He was reborn in this Buddha's days as the son of Samuddhi, a brahmin of the village of Nalaka in Magadha. And he entered the Order because Sâriputta¹ had done so, and he knew that Sâriputta was very wise. After he had attained arahantship, and was enjoying the bliss of emancipation, he uttered his psalm to encourage his fellow disciples to make efforts

In wisdom strong, guided by virtue's rule, intent,
To concentration's rapture given, yet vigilant;
Partaking of such fare as brings thee only good:
So in the faith,² with passions quenched, await the
hour (12)

7

XIII

Vanavaccha

In this Buddha-age he took rebirth at Kapilavatthu, in the brahmin clan of the Vaccha's. He was born in the forest, his mother being taken with travail while walking in the forest which she had yearned to see. He became one of the future Buddha's playmates in the sand. And because he loved the woods, he was known as Woodland-Vaccha.³ Later on, when he had entered the Order, it

¹ His fellow townsman. See CCLIX, *Sister* p. 96

² *Idha*, lit., 'here,' 'here below,' is technically used as above, and is so interpreted

³ As if the legend strove to link him closer to nature, the only two of his former lives mentioned in detail represent him as a tortoise or turtle, and as a dove. The stanza recurs, with others in a similar vein in Kassapa's poem (CCXLIV). Again as with the two Punnamiya psalms, the Commentator takes no heed of the identity of name nor of the substantial identity in story and verse. The verse is incorporated in the long poem (CCLXI)

was in the forest that he strove for and won arahantship. And it was in praise of the forest life that he uttered his psalm, replying to the brethren who asked him: 'What comfort can' yon get in the forest?' 'Delightful, my friends, are forest and mountain!'

Craggs with the hue of heaven's blue clouds,
Where lies enbosomed many a shining tarn
Of crystal-clear, cool waters, and whose slopes
The 'herds of Indra'¹ cover and bedeck:
Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (13)

XIV

Sivaka.

('A Novice attending Brother Vanavaccha)

In this Buddha-era he was born as the son of Vanavaccha's sister. When his mother heard that her eldest brother Vanavaccha had left the world, had graduated in the Order, and was dwelling in the forest, she said to her son: 'Dear Sivaka, you should leave the world under the Elder, and wait on him; the Elder is getting old now.' He, at this sole bidding of his mother, and because of his previous aspirations, did so and, ministering to his uncle, dwelt in the forest. One day, when he had gone to the outskirts of the village on some

¹ *Indagopaḥ sañchannā*, 'covered by Indra's cowherds.' According to the Commentary (cf Childers, 'a crimson beetle noticeable after rain'), these are coral-red insects (*kitā*), alluded to in connexion with recent rain, but said by some to be a red grass, or by others the *kanikāra* trees (*Pterospermum acerifolium*). To come into a highland or upland picture, these crimson insects must swarm in vast numbers. The cows of Indra—i.e., the clouds—would have filled the background far more easily. The Russians, however, Sir Charles Eliot informs me, call lady birds 'God's little cows' (*beshya korovka*), and on upper Alpine pastures in late summer I have seen crimson (? Burnet) moths crowded on the heath. On the colour, cf *Vin*, III 42

errand, he fell very ill. And when medicine did not cure him and he came not, the Elder, wondering at the reason, went and found him ill. Administering remedies and tending him the Elder, when dawn was nigh, said: 'Śivaka, since the time when I left the world, I have not sojourned in the village. Let us go hence into the forest.' Śivaka answered: 'Sir, even if my body stay now by the village, my heart is in the forest, wherefore though I be here yet shall I go thither.' Then the Elder took hold of his arm, and led him to the forest exhorting him. He made steadfast by that admonition, won arahantship.

Hereafter he uttered his psalm, combining his master's words and his own, expressing both his love of seclusion and his achievement, his obedience to his master and the winning of aśīṣa.

The teacher spake me thus: 'Śivaka, hence
Let's go'¹ Here in the town my body dwells
My thoughts are to the forest gone. So thus,
Prostrated though I be, yet do I go
No bond is there for those who understand. (14)

XV

Kuṇḍa-Dhāna.²

In the age of our Exalted One, he was reborn at Sivatthi as a brahmin's child, and called Dhāna.³ Knowing the

¹ The text *gacch'ima*, 'I go, is in the Commentary *gacch'ima*, 'let us go'. The latter accords with the story, and with Vāṇavaccha's active care for his pupil, and the latter's devotion. The Commentary compares the youth's swift response to that of a spirited horse touched by the whip. A spirited horse is called *dhātro*, which = also anxious or lucky (Sicakā. Cf. Sva).

² In the Comy. *Koṇḍa Kuṇḍa Kuṇḍa-dhāna*. He is mentioned in *Vagga*, i 402. I *Jira*, ii 8, *Dharmapala Comy.*, iii. 52-58.

³ The Comy. deals at some length with the legend of this Brother's antecedents, the immediate object of which is to explain how Dhāna

three Vedas by heart, he when advanced in years heard the Master preach, and left the world. Now King Pasenadi of Kosala became interested in him and provided him with necessities, so that he had not to go round for alms. But it was when the great Subhadda invited the Master and his company to dine with her, that Kunda Dhina revealed his powers and attainments, as it is written in the Commentary on the *Anguttara-Nikāya*¹. And it was to the brethren that he recited this verse

Five cut thou off, Five leave behind, and Five beyond
all cultivate²

He who the Fivefold Bond³ to me—cumb—a Brother
Flood crossed is he called (15)

won the nickname of Kunda or Konda, a word which by the context would seem to mean 'gallant'. In a previous birth he appears as the victim of a fairy's practical joke, and the blame he attaches to an innocent fellow monk in consequence is a karma which pursues him in this life, causing him mortification. As the legend throws no light on the verse, it is not given here, nor is the account of his prior rank in receiving food tickets (see *Ang*, i. 24) and for the same reason. The verse might, in fact, have been spoken by any learned Thera (cf. CCXXII, verse 633). Subhadda is presumably the daughter of Anāthapindika living at Sāketa (*Vilāsa* ii. 309). The way to her (from Sravasthi) is described as being far, in *Majjh*, i. 149, as seven express coaching stages.

¹ I.e., on the *Etad agga Vagga* (*Ang*, i. 23 f.), wherein the Thera's success is recorded. It is noticeable that, in citing this Commentary, Dharmapala does not quote it as Buddhaghosa's *Manorathapūra* ii.

² According to the Commentary, the first of these four pentads is the group of the five lower Fetters (*Bud. Psy*, §§ 1113-1181, Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, p. 141 ff). The second pentad is the remaining five Fetters, the liberation from the ten involving deliverance from rebirth. The third refers to the five moral powers or faculties (*Bud. Psy*, §§ 80-311), and the fourth to the bonds of passion, hate, stupidity, pride, and opinion (*Vibhanga*, p. 377). The verse occurs in *Dharmapada*, v. 370, and *Samyutta Aik*, i. 3, and below 633 where this comment is repeated. The verse is a good example of the kind of holy riddle in which these Elders (like others nearer home) took special delight. (Cf. LXIV) *

XVI

Belatthasīsa.

In this Buddha-age he was reborn at Savatthī in a brahmin's family, and before the Exalted One became a Buddha he left the world to join the ascetic Order of Kassapa of Urutellā, and tend the sacred fire. And when Kassapa was tamed by the Buddha,¹ he was one of the thousand ascetics who obtained arahantship on hearing the sermon on Burning.²

He thereafter became the tutor of the 'Treasurer of the Norm'³ And one day, reflecting on the pure bliss of fruition and his own earlier discipline, in rapture he uttered a psalm:

Even as the high-bred steer⁴ with crested back⁵
 Lightly the plough adown the furrow turns,
 So lightly glide for me the nights and days
 Now that this pure untainted bliss is won. (16)

XVII

Dasaka.

He, by his karma, was reborn in the age of our Exalted One at Savatthī, as the child of a slave of Anāthapindika,

¹ See *Vinaya Texts*, i 118 134

² *Ibid*, p 134 f.

³ A soubriquet of the Elder Ananda. Belatthasīsa is also mentioned as a sufferer from eczema (*Vin Texts*, ii 48, 226), and as committing a minor offence in storing food (*Vin*, iv 86) The Commentarial tradition is that *Dhammapada* verse 92 refers to the last named incident (*Dhp. Com*, ii 170)

⁴ The text *bhaddo āyakkā*, 'noble, or spirited thoroughbred,' is declared by the Commentary to imply, out of the three creatures to which this epithet is applied—bull, horse, elephant—the first named, as the only one used for ploughing

⁵ *Siṅghī*, 'crested,' is applicable to either the horns or the hump of the zebu (Commentary)

and was by him appointed as gate-porter of the Vihāra.¹ Hearing of his virtuous conduct and his wishes, his master made him a freed man, and said, how happy it was to leave the life of the world. He was ordained accordingly, but from that time he grew slothful and slack of effort, taking no steps to roll back the round of rebirth, and sleeping much after meals. At sermon-time he would get into a corner on the outskirts of the congregation, and sit snoring. Now the Exalted One, contemplating his antecedents, spoke the following verse to him in order to stir up agitation.

Who waxes slothful and in diet gross,
Given to sleep and rolling as he lies,
Like a great hog with provender replete—
The dolt comes back again, again to birth. (17)

Hearing this, Dasaka grew agitated and, developing in sight, not long after realized arahantship. Thereafter he thought 'the verse of the Exalted One became as a goad to me, and he repeated the verse. Thus, though uttered as a protest concerning food, it became the declaration of his aśīṣa.

XVIII

Singala-Pitar.²

Reborn in this Buddha age of wealthy parents at Savatthi, he married and named his son Singala(ka), himself becoming known as Singala's father. At a later time he threw off domestic ties, and left the world for the Order. The Exalted One, contemplating his inclinations, gave him the meditative exercise of the idea of a skeleton. Taking it he dwelt among the Sakiyans at Sunsumaragira, in the

¹ Of the Jetavana. See *Sisters* for an illustration of the ruins of this famous institution, built by Anāthapīṇḍika. Dasaka = Decanus.

² In the Commentary Singalaka pīṭi. The name means 'jackal.'

Bhesakalā Wood.¹ Now in that wood a woodland sprite, judging that the Thera would soon grasp the fruition he laboured after, uttered this verse :

Lo ! in the forest of Bhesakalā
A brother dwells, heir of the Buddha's grace,
Suffusing through and through this earthy frame
With thought intent, austere, of skeleton.²
Beshrew me, if he do not swiftly drive
All passion of the senses clean away ! (18)

Hearing that verse the brother thought 'this fairy said this to me to call forth effort,' and willing unfaltering endeavour, he developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter he recalled the fairy's words, and breathed forth that very verse as the confession of his aññā

¹ This town (see Windisch, *Māra & Buddha*, p 150) and wood have hitherto been found in association, not with the Sākyans, but with the Bhaggas (*JPTS*, 1888, pp 63, 68) Either, therefore, there was more than one wood of this name, or the Bhaggas, whose locality seems doubtful, were a section of the Sākyas Cf. ver 1208.

² *Kevalag atthasannāya apāra pathaviṃ may.* Dr Neumann sees in this line an allusion to the passage in *Saṃy Nik*, ii 178 ff, and referred to by Sumedhā (*Sisters*, p 173)

'And bear in mind that tumult of bones
By creatures piled who wander through the world
Remember the great cairn of one man's bones
From one son alone, equal to Vipulā'

Dhammapala, on the other hand, ignores any such allusion and interprets the line as referring to the mode of *asubha saññā*, or the *lasina* called 'meditative exercise of bones' (*atthika-bhāvanā*) *Pathavi*, usually applied to the extended world, he explains as *attha bhāva pathavi*, that extended or earthy attribute of the individual called, in the *Nikāyas*, *ajjhātika pathavīdhātu* (personal extended element) That it is never called simply *pathavi* (the extended, or earth) may incline the critic to dissent from the Commentarial tradition And yet why should the latter have let slip this good exegetical opportunity, had the mountain of bones been indeed implied? 'Having by the "bones notion" wholly suffused his own or all beings' organism with the thought "I'm bone!" and making that the basis of jhāna, he will put away all sensual passion by the Non Returner's Path . . ' so runs the Commentary.

XIX

Kula.

Reborn in this Buddha age at Svatthī of a brahmin family, he entered the Order, but from want of mental balance could not concentrate on a given idea¹ Now one day going to the town for alms, he saw men conducting running water wherever they wished by digging channels Within the town he marked out of the corner of his eye² how the fletcher fixed the arrow-shaft in his lathe, and leaving with full bowl he saw the chariot makers planing axle and tire and hub So entering the Vihara he dined, then during siesta he pondered on these three modes of taming things, making them his goad, and applying them to his own need of self mastery So striving he not long after won arahantship And connecting those object-lessons with his own heart's taming he confessed aññ in this verse

The conduit-makers lead the stream,
 Fletchers coerce the arrow shaft,
 The joiners mould the wooden plank,
 The self— tis that the pious tame³ (19)

¹ *Vīṇasay nibbattetug* Cf Childers s r *Vīṇeso*

² See *Vin Texts*, i 59 'With downcast eye' Practically directed on to the ground about a plough's length in front of him (Commentary)

³ This verse recurs in CCLIV, and occurs twice in the *Dhammapada* being assigned, in the Commentary on that work, to one Pandita samanera at verse 80, and to Sukha-sāmanera at verse 145 Both are of Svatthī also, and both are described as making object lessons of human skull over matter in the crafts alluded to But in the former instance the story is much expanded

XX

Ajita.

He was reborn, when our Master was living, at Svatti as the son of the brahmin who was price assessor¹ to the king of Kosala. He became an ascetic as follower of Bavari the learned brahmin who dwelt in the Kapittha park on the banks of the Godhavarī. Now Bavari² sent him, together with Tissa and Metteyya to the Master. And Ajita was so satisfied with the Master's answers to his questions, that he entered the Order. Choosing a form of mental exercise he developed insight, and attained arahantship. Thereupon he uttered his song of victory³ in this verse

All unafraid of death, nor fain to live,
I shall lay down this compound frame anon⁴
With mind alert, with consciousness controlled (20)

¹ In the *Jātaka* it appears that the purchase of goods by or for a king was effected by an officially regulated price. This was fixed without appeal by the court assessor or valuer who stood between the two fires of offending the king if he valued the goods submitted too high and of driving away tradesmen if he refused bribes and cheapened wares. See my 'Early Economic Conditions in Northern India' *JRAS* October, 1901.

This episode forms part of the *Sutta Nipita* verses 976-1039 (*SBE*, x 184 ff.)

² His lion's roar (*a haṇḍa*)

⁴ Cf. *Saṃyutta* iii 20

XIX

Kula.

Reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi of a brahmin family, he entered the Order, but from want of mental balance could not concentrate on a given idea¹ Now one day going to the town for alms, he saw men conducting running water wherever they wished by digging channels Within the town he marked out of the corner of his eye² how the fletcher fixed the arrow-shaft in his lathe, and leaving with full bowl he saw the chariot makers planing axle and tire and hub So entering the Vihara he dined, then during siesta he pondered on these three modes of taming things, making them his goad, and applying them to his own need of self mastery So striving he not long after won arahantship And connecting those object-lessons with his own heart's taming, he confessed añña in this verse

The conduit makers lead the stream,
 Fletcher coerce the arrow shaft,
 The joiners mould the wooden plank,
 The self—'tis that the pious tame³ (19)

¹ *Vissaya nibbattetug* Cf Childers s r *Visseso*

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This episode forms part of the *Sutta Nipita* verses 976-1039 (*SBE*, v. 184 ff.)

² His 'lion's roar' (*sihana la*)

³ Cf. *Samyutta* iii 20

PART III

XXI

Nigrodha.

He in this Buddha-age was reborn in an eminent brahmin's family at Savatthī. And on the day when Jeta Grove was presented, he saw the majesty of the Buddha and was satisfied, so that he entered the Order. When he had stirred up insight, he soon became able to exercise the six forms of supernormal thought. And pondering, in the bliss of fruition, on the advantages of the doctrine which leads us away from rebirth, he uttered this verse as the expression of añña

No fear have I of fearsome things for He,
Our Master, knoweth well th' ambrosial loio¹
The Path where fear nowise a footing finds,
Along that Path the brethren hold their way. (21)

XXII

Cittaka

He was born in this Buddha age at Rājagaha, as the son of a brahmin of great possessions. And when the Master was staying in the Bamboo Grove, Cittaka² went to hear him, and found faith and so entered the Order. Choosing ethical conduct as his exercise, he entered a wooded spot, and there in devotional practice induced jhāna. Thereby developing insight he soon attained arahantship. Thereupon he went to salute the Master. Asked by the brethren,

¹ Lat., 'skilled learned in ambrosia, *amāta* the most frequent synonyma for Nibbāna. The Path is the Ariyan Eightfold Path (Commentary)

² Pronounced Chittika. Sister Cittā was also of Rājagaha (*Sisters* p. 27).

'Have you been strenuous friend, in your forest sojourn?' he uttered his psalm to show he had been so, and to declare aññ.

Pe rocks of sapphire neck and comely crest
Calling calling in Kṛmāyān woods ¹
By cool and humid winds made musical ²
They wake the thinker from his noonday sleep (22)

XVIII

Gosula

He was born in this Buddha ago in a wealthy Magadhese family. He came to know Sona Kutibhanna,² and when he heard that the latter had left the world he grew agitated, and thought 'If he who has so great an estate shall leave the world why not rather I? And entering the Order, he took for exercise the subject of ethical conduct⁴ and seeking a suitable haunt, dwelt on the uplands not far from his native village. Now one day his mother, who daily dispensed alms, gave him, on his round, rice porridge prepared with honey and sugar. This he took and ate in the shade of that hill under a bamboo thicket. With bowl and hands washed and refreshed by the appropriate fare offered him he put forth insight without toil and, with mind intent on

¹ The Commentary reading *Karambhaya*, states this word is the name of a species of tree and possibly also the name of the wood.

⁴ In the compound *śat śa śa śa* the Dr MS of the Commentary reads *śa śa śa* the S MS, *śa śa śa*. In both, the word denotes the musical call (*śa śa śa śa śa śa*) of the peacock (*śa śa śa śa śa śa*). According to the *Abhidh nappāṭṭi* (137) the term *śa śa śa* is used to designate any inarticulate pleasant sound. The birds are described as crying their *śa śa* call when they hear the thunder of the approaching clouds heralding the rains. *śa śa* a redundant foot has crept in from the Commentary perhaps. 'Humid, the translator's gloss from *meghaśānta* 'rain cloud breeze' in the Commentary.

³ See Pt. CCV III. Sena was of Avanti far to the E

* *Cyrtocarpus* is a monophyletic group.

PART III

XXI

Nigrodha.

He in this Buddha-age was reborn in an eminent brahmin's family at Savatthi. And on the day when Jeta Grove was presented he saw the majesty of the Buddha and was satisfied, so that he entered the Order. When he had stirred up insight, he soon became able to exercise the six forms of supernormal thought. And pondering, in the bliss of fruition, on the advantages of the doctrine which leads us away from rebirth, he uttered this verse as the expression of añña

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Along that Path the brethren hold their way (21)

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² Pronounced Chittika. Sister Cittā was also of Rajagaha (*Sisters* p. 27)

'Have you been strenuous, friend, in your forest sojourn?' he uttered his psalm, to show he had been so, and to declare aññi.

Peacocks of sapphire neck and comely crest
 Calling, calling in Karambiya woods;¹
 By cool and humid winds made musical²
 They wake the thinker from his noonday sleep (2)

XXIII

Gosāla.

He was born in this Buddha age in a wealthy Magadhese family. He came to know Sona-Kuṭṭhanna,³ and when he heard that the latter had left the world, he grew agitated, and thought 'If he who has so great an estate shall leave the world, why not rather I?' And entering the Order, he took for exercise the subject of ethical conduct,⁴ and seeking a suitable haunt, dwelt on the uplands not far from his native village. Now one day his mother, who daily dispensed alms, gave him, on his round, rice-porridge prepared with honey and sugar. Thus he took and ate in the shade of that hill under a bamboo thicket. With bowl and hands washed, and refreshed by the appropriate fare offered him, he put forth insight without toil and, with mind intent on

¹ The Commentary, reading Karambiya, states this word is the name of a species of tree, and possibly also the name of the wood.

² In the compound *sitarita kalita* the Br MS of the Commentary reads *kāṭṭa*, the S MS *kaddita*. In both 'e' word denotes the musical call (*madhuravassita*) of the peacock. *ora*=*mayura*. According to the *Abhidh mayyapāṭṭha* (137), the term *kāṭṭadda* is used to designate any articulate pleasant sound. The birds are described as crying their *kā kā* call when they hear the thunder of the approaching clouds heralding the rains. *Mora*, a redundant foot, has crept in from the Commentary perhaps. 'Humid,' the translator's gloss, from *meghamitena*, 'rain cloud breeze,' in the Commentary.

³ See Pp CCVIII. Sona was of Avanti far to the E.

⁴ *Cariyapakkāṇīya kammattikāya*.

the ebb and flow of all things, attained the topmost meditation of the Patha, winning arahantship, with mastery of the form and meaning of the doctrine. Desirous to go up to the hilly region that he might dwell in bliss while he lived, he made known his own experience in this verse :

Lo! I who in the bamboo thicket dined
 Off rice and honey, who now comprehend,
 Him worshipping,¹ the ebb and flux of all
 These factors of my life, will hie me back
 Up on my hill, to foster there the growth
 Of heart's detachment, lone and separate² (23)

XXIV

Sugandha

He was reborn in this Buddha-age of wealthy parents at Sāvattbi. And because of his aspiration in the past, when he presented Kassapa Buddha with a Fragrant Chamber of sandal-wood, that he might in one life be reborn with a fragrant body, he, on the day of his birth—and his mother before that day—filled the house with fragrance. Then said his parents: 'Our son is come bringing his own name' and they called him Sugandha (Aroma). When grown up, he was induced to leave the world by the preaching of the Thera Mahā-Sela.³ And within seven

days he attained arahantship. Confessing aññā he uttered this verse :

Scarcely have the rains gone by since I went forth,
Yet see the keenly order of the Norm !
The Threefold Wisdom¹ have I gotten now
And done all that the Buddha bids us do.² (21)

XXV

Nandiya

Born in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the house of a Sābiyan rāja, his parents said : He is born bringing us bliss ; and they called him Nandiya (Beatus). Grown up, he went forth, when Anuruddha and the rest left the world under the Master. And because of his studies and his resolve made in the past, he soon attained arahantship. Thereafter he dwelt with Anuruddha the Thera³ and his

¹ *Tetiyo*, lit. 'three wise'. This brahminist phrase, referring to one who had learnt the three Vedas, was adopted by the Buddha, and transferred to one who had the three kinds of *paññā*, viz 1, or *abhiññā* (intuition, insight), entitled reminiscence of former lives, the heavenly eye, and the destruction of the *asava*'s, or intoxicants—sensuality, lust of life, opinions, ignorance (*Ang Nik.* i 163-165) *Cf* p 14, n 8

² The phrase *anuvassita pabbajito* is, according to the Commentary, capable of more than one interpretation. If it means 'renounced the world a year ago' (*vide* Neumann), it is curious that Dhammapāla does not paraphrase by the term *samvacehara*. Is it not perhaps permissible, in view of the strong emphasis on the order (*ai*, 'Normity') of the Norm, to see a parallel between two strands of the fivefold order (*niyama*) of the universe—the seasons and the Norm (*nin* *niyama*, *dhamma niyama*)? (*Cf Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii 8, n 3, and my *Buddhism*, 118 f) The fruition—namely, of his moral and spiritual evolution—was as certain and inevitable as that 'seedtime and harvest, summer and winter shall not cease' (*Gen* viii 22). The phrase, however, recurs frequently with no such point.

³ On Anuruddha and his friends, see Pt CXXXIII CXXXIV, COLVI (*cf* Pt CXXXVIII). The only passage where Nandiya is mentioned independently is *Samy*, v 403. *Dhammapada Com.*, on verses 219, 220, refers to a quite different Nandiya (verse 11, Nandika, Nanda) of Benares, a lay adherent.

XXVII

Lomasakangiya

When Kassapa was Buddha, this brother left the world and followed him. Now after the Master had preached the Sutta on Happy Lonely, a certain bhikkhu talked with Lomasakangiya about it. And our Thera, being unable to explain it, uttered the wish 'May I in the future become able to teach thee the Happy Lonely.' The other answered 'May I ask thee?' Of these two the former, when our Buddha lived, was reborn at Kapilavatthu, in the house of a Sakyan raja. And he was very delicate, and covered with fine hair, and therefore he was called Lomasakangiya.¹ The other was reborn at that time among the gods, and named Candana.²

Now when Anuruddha and the other Sakyan youths left the world, Lomasakangiya would not. Then Candana, to stir him up, came to him and asked concerning the Happy-Lonely. The other knew not what he meant. Then Candana reminded him. So Lomasakangiya went to the Exalted One and asked him if it was true that he had made that resolve in the past. 'Ay, youth,' replied the Exalted One, 'and the meaning of it is to be understood in more than fifty points of detail.' Then Lomasakangiya said 'Wherefore, lord, let me be ordained. And the Exalted One sent him to get his parents' permission. He asked his mother, but she feared for his health, saying 'My dear, thou art delicate. How canst thou leave the world?' Then Lomasakangiya uttered this verse

Nipunan the subtle is explained by Dharmapala as implying the third of the Four Truths the understanding of the Nirodha Sacca or the cessation of ill. It is interesting to note how the prince draws his similes from race and from warlike sports. Cf Ps CXXXIX by the Buddha's stepbrother Nanda also verse 1160.

¹ *I e.*, downy limbs. Pronounced Lo māsa kang iya.

² Pronounced Chandana.

Dabha and Kusa grass and pricking stems
 And all that hurts in brush and underwood
 Forth from my breast I'll push and thrust away,
 And go where I the growth may cultivate
 Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.¹ (27)

Thereupon his mother said, 'Well then, my dear, go forth' And he gained the Master's consent to be ordained. After doing the preliminary exercises he went to enter the forest. And the bhikkhus said to him. 'Friend, you are delicate. What can you do here? 'Tis cold in the forest.' But he repeated his verse, and entering the forest, devoted himself to meditation, and soon acquired the six forms of supernormal thought.² When he won arahantship he confessed aññā in the same verse.

XXVIII

c.

Jambugāmika's Son.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Campā as the son of a lay-adherent named Jambugāmika,³ and became called⁴

¹ Cf. XXIII, and see Ps. CLXXIV. The Commentary gives us the previous half of the legend, the latter half of which is told in the Lomasakangiya-Sutta of *Majjh.* (ed. 199). Here Candana is represented as teaching the Sutta in question to the Thera. No less than four Suttas of this Nikāya deal with the little poem called 'Ehaddakaratṭa,' or 'the happy-lonely one,' giving expositions by the Buddha, by Ānanda, by Kaccina the Great, and by Candana in succession.

² 'The powers named Iddhā, the Celestial Ear,
 Discerning others' thoughts, reminiscence
 Of former births, and fifth, the Heavenly Eye.'

Compendium of Philosophy, p. 209

The sixth, extirpation of the Āśava, is tantamount to arahantship. The six are comprised in the term 'Abhūta,' and are left untranslated as 'Abhūta' in the following psalm.

³ In the Commentary Jambugāmiya. The name refers to an office, and means syndus of the village of Rose apple trees, a place included by the Buddha on his last preaching tour (*Dialogues*, ii. 123), and which probably was a suburb of Campā (pronounced Champā), on the Ganges, the easternmost point of the Buddha's ministrations.

alter his father. While studying as a novice in the Order, he dwelt at Sīheta, in the Añjana Grove.¹ Then his father, thinking, 'I wonder if my son remains devoted to his life in the Order or not?' wrote the following verse to examine him, and sent it to him:

And art thou then not gratified by gear?
And art thou then not charmed thyself t' adorn?
And is this fragrant odour, virtue-fraught,
Wafted by thee, and not by other folk? (28)

When he had read² this he thought: 'My father is suspicious that I want worldly vanities. Even to-day I have not got beyond the level of the common man!' Filled with anxiety, he strove and wrestled, so that he soon acquired the six abhiññās. And taking the verse his father sent him as a goad, he finally realized arahantship. And both to confess aññā and honour his father, he recited the verse

XXIX

Harita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvathī, as the son of a wealthy brahmin,³ his parents wedded him to a brahmin's daughter suitable in birth, beauty and every other respect. And he, enjoying his lot with her, was one day, while he contemplated the perfection of her beauty, admonished by

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, pp. 84, 158. *East India*, pp. 39, 40. Neumann, *Majjh* translation, n. 361, n.

² *Tay* *āceti* The legend, for us, dates from the Chronicle's day only, when the Pīṭakas had long been committed to writing. But as recording even a legend of the communal, at its very birth, of what became a fraction of 'holy writ' to writing, it is of considerable interest. In the verse I read with the Commentary *Kacc* *na*. *Kacc* *na* The odour of sanctity is a common Indian metaphor.

³ Cf. CLXXIV. Harita, one of the gods of the Brahma heaven (*Dialogues*, n. 292), was the name in the *Jāṭaka* of an erasing bhikkhu, on whose account the Buddha related a birth-story of his own fallibility when Bodhisatt (*Jāt*, n. 295).

the order of things,¹ that such beauty must needs ere long be crushed out by decay and death. Nay, when but a few days had passed by, his wife was bitten by a black snake and died. Overwhelmed by anguish he sought the Master and, hearing the Norm, severed his domestic ties and left the world. Now while he was training himself ethically, he could not make straight his heart.² And going for alms into the village,³ he saw a fletcher applying his tools and making straight the shaft of an arrow. Then, he thought: 'These men make even a senseless thing, straight; why do I not make straight my heart?' So he turned back and, seated for siesta, stirred up insight. And lo! the Exalted One, seated in the air above him, admonished him by this verse:

Now bend aloft thyself; e'en as his bolt
The fletcher, so do thou, O Harita,
Make straight thy heart and ignorance cut
away. (20)

Hearing him, the Thera developed insight, and soon became an arahant. He thereupon confessed aññā with this same verse.

XXX

Uttiya.

He was born in this Buddha age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a brahmin, and leaving the world on the quest of the Ambrosial,⁴ he became a Wanderer.⁵ One day on his

¹ Lat, *dhammatā*, cf p 39, and my *Buddhism*, pp 119, 241

² *Cittā* may be rendered by heart or mind, understood as synonymous, as in our New Testament

³ *Gāma*, whether Sāvattthi, called elsewhere *nagara*, 'town,' or a suburb, or other place, is not stated. Cf. Ps. XIX

⁴ *Amata*, the not-dead, a term applied to Nibbāna, or the Patha thereto; more generally, to the *Sammam Bonum*

⁵ *Paribbājaka*—i.e., an unattached religious. It is very possible that the Uttiya paribbājaka of *Ang.* v. 193, and the Uttiya bhikkhu of *Saṃy.* v. 166, who asks for a lesson in brief, are identical with this Uttiya

travels he came where the Exalted One was preaching and entered the Order. From the impurity of his moral principles he could not win the goal. And seeing other bhikkhus who had won confessing to anna he asked the Master for a lesson in brief. The Master answered, It follows that *you* Uttiya, must purify the rudiments ¹ and he taught him them in brief. Uttiya, accepting the lesson called up insight but in the process he fell ill. In his anxiety he put forth every effort and attained arahantship. Inasmuch as he won to perfect attainment in the face of such a condition, he confessed anna with reference to his illness.

Since sickness hath befallen me O now
Let there arise in me true mindfulness
Sickness hath now befallen me—tis time
For me no more to dally or delay ² (30)

PART II

XXXI

Gahvaratariya

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi in a brahmin's family and named Aggidatta ³. When grown

¹ *Tvaṃ dāmi eva piṣo Helaṃ*.

² The unique reiteration of the *me* twice in the locative twice in the dative in the Pali (the word is identical in both languages) scarcely makes for elegant poetry but to be faithful the translation was bound to reproduce it. It is very possible that there is here a suggestion of the harassed travail of the feverish and aching but unflinching indomitable brain. Under this aspect the verse becomes a very living document.

³ *I o* Fire given. Even if *Batariya* mean *Batira* woodlander (see next page) it is not evident how to interpret *Gahva*. The name and the *Thera* are not met with elsewhere. The Brother's disposition and his simile occur in a Sutta comparing five qualities common to excellence in elephants and in bhikkhus (*Ang. ii. 101 g*).

up he saw the Exalted One work the twin-miracle,¹ and, being convinced, he entered the Order. Taking a subject for meditation, he went to the Ratira forest, and became known as Gahva-Ratiriya. Growing in insight, he in a short time attained arahantship. Thereupon he went to worship the Exalted One at Sāvattthī. His kinsfolk, hearing of his coming, bestowed liberal gifts upon him. And when he wished to go back to the forest, they said: 'Sir, the forest is full of peril through the gadflies and mosquitoes. Stay here!' But the Thera, devoted to detachment, replied, 'Life in the forest suits me,' and confessing aññā he uttered this verse:

In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
I yet would roam, like warrior-elephant.
In van of battle, mindful, vigilant.² (31)

XXXII

Suppiya.

He in this Buddha-age was reborn, in consequence of his actions,³ in a despised class, as one of a clan of watchmen in a cemetery at Sāvattthī. Converted by the preaching of the Thera Sopāka⁴ his friend, he entered the Order and attained to the highest, declaring this in his psalm while he yet was striving for arahantship:

¹ The power of emitting fire and water from any two opposed parts of the body respectively and simultaneously, also of conjuring up a figure moving differently from himself (*Patissambhūda*, i 125). This the Buddha (in post canonical works) is recorded to have done at Sāvattthī (*Milinda*, ii 247; *Sumangala Vā*, i 57, *Dham Comy*, iii 213 ff)

² Recurs CLXXVIII, verse 244

³ Through pride and conceit when a bhikkhu in the Order of Kassapa Buddha. Apparently not the detractor of *Dialogues*, i 1

⁴ Cf XXXIII, CCXXVII

O would that I who hourly waste, might change¹
 I or that which neer decays—who ever burn
 Might change for that cool bliss—even for the
 Peace
 That passeth all, Safety beyond compare² (12)

XXXIII

Sopnka

(A Boy Bhikkhu)

He was reborn in this Buddhn age at Savatthi of a very poor woman. In her travail his mother fell into a long deep swoon, so that her kinsfolk said 'She is dead! And they bore her to the cemetery, and prepared to cremate the body. But a spirit prevented the fire burning by a storm of wind and rain, so they went away. Then was the child born hale while the mother died. And the spirit in human shape took the infant and placed it in the watchman's house nourishing it for a time with suitable food. After that the watchman adopted it, and the child grew up with his own son Suppiya (Ps XXXII). And because of his birth in the cemetery, he became known as Sopnka, 'the Waif'. When he was seven years old it came to pass that the Exalted One early in the morning spread out his Net of Insight to contemplate what folk might be brought in. And seeing what the net enclosed,

¹ The Commentary reads *namajay* and paraphrases by *paritoc ceyy cetipajjay* (cf. Vin., ii 219) and concludes: 'Just as men exchanging new goods for which they care not, are greatly taken by what they get even so this Brother caring not for body or life (*paritoc*) arose after Nibbana till he won. Cool bliss is *nibbuti* on which and on the last clause see *Sutras* p. 19 n. 4 and p. 13 n. 2 and p. 14 n. 2 respectively. This is one of the very few psalms which resemble our own anthologies in having a burden of the quest not yet won.

² Ultimate perfect (*paramartha*).

³ Cf. *Sutta* vii its verse 1.

he went to the cemetery. The boy, impelled by his antecedents, approached the Master with a gladdened mind and saluted him. The Master taught him, so that he asked to leave the world, and when bidden to gain his father's consent, fetched the latter to the Master. The father saluted, and asked the Master to admit the boy. And the Master had him admitted, and assigned to him the study of fraternal love¹. He, taking this exercise and dwelling in the cemetery, soon acquired the corresponding jhāna. And making that his base,² he fostered insight and realized arahantship. As arahant he showed in his verse to the other bhikkhus dwelling there the principle of the love exercises, bidding them make no difference between those who were to them friendly, indifferent, or hostile. For all alike their love should be one and the same in its nature and should include all realms, all beings, at all ages.

Even as she would be very good
Towards her only child, her well beloved son,
So too ye should be very good
Towards all creatures everywhere and every
one.³ (33)

¹ Cf *Dialogues* b 219. It is a pretty touch that the boy who as a waif owed everything to fraternal love and pity should have been set this study. Cf Ps I.

² *Compendium* p 62.

³ This simile is better known in the form given it in the *Sutta Nipata* (verse 149) and the *Ahi dāka paṭṭa* bringing in the loving mother more explicitly. Here the language is so simple that it really lends probability to the Commentator's story of the boy bhikkhu who as a 'waif' had never known a mother. I have therefore rendered it as a child's attempt. 'Ye' is lit 'one'.

XXXX

Posiya

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi as the son of a very wealthy councillor,¹ and the younger brother of the Thera Sangamajit.² When he was grown up he married, but when a son was born to him, he being impelled by the order of things belonging to the last span of life, grew anxious concerning birth and the like. So he left the world and dwelt alone in the forest, exercising himself in the Four Truths. And soon after he won arahantship.

Then he went to Savatthi to worship the Exalted One and came to his home. There his former wife entertained him and, unaware of his disposition, was desirous of drawing him back by her attractions. The Thera thinking 'Alas! the fool of desire has designs even on such as me,' said no word but rose up and went away into the forest. And the bhikkhus there said to him 'Why, friend, you are come back too quickly, have you not seen your people?' The Thera told them what had taken place and recited a verse

Best when not near, both now and evermore
Are such as these for him who understands
Forth from the township to the woods I went
Thence to my home once more I came but thence
Rising I gat me forth again, nor e'er
Did this same Posiya let fall a word (34)

¹ On the term *seffhi* see *Sisters* p. 192 : 1. I have hitherto decided to use 'councillor' as expression, for us a Burgess of some official importance lend (*seffhi*)—e.g. of a guild etc.

² See *Udāna* i 8. *Niddā*, I 150.

XXXV

Sāmaññakāni.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Wanderer,¹ and was converted to the religious life when he saw the Exalted One perform the twin-miracle.² And through jhāna he attained arahantship.

Now a Wanderer named Kāṭiyāna, whom he had known as a layman, had lost all support from the laity since the Buddha had arisen, and was destitute. He came to the Thera and said: 'You of the Sākiyans, who have won much fame and support, live happily, but we are distressed and destitute. What should one do to compass happiness both in this life and the next?' The Thera said. 'Happiness not of the world:—this, for one who undergoes the suitable procedure to get it, and who gets it, is alone to be called unqualified happiness.' And to illustrate this by his own attainment, he uttered this verse:

Happiness he who seeks may win an he practise the
 seeking—
 Honour he gaineth beside, and growth of renown
 shall befall him—
 So he but practise the road called Straight,³ even the
 Ariyan,
 The Noble Eightfold Path whereby we may reach
 salvation.⁴ (35)

¹ Paribbājaka—i.e., an unattached religious. Whether he was born before the father left the world, or after he had lapsed into it again (cf. *Sisters*, Pz. Ixviii.), is not stated.

² Cf. p. 36, n. 1.

³ 'Because one has put away all bodily and other crookedness,' explains the Commentary. I seem to discern an echo of the Nikāya verse. *Ujuko nāma so maggo* (*Sayy*, i. 14, *Sisters*, verse 861)—'Straight is the name that Way is called.' The Pāli is in Gāyatrī metre (Vedic).

⁴ *Amata*. Cf. XXI.

XXXVI

Kumā's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Avanti country,¹ at the town of Velukanda in the family of a housefather, he was called Nanda. But his mother's name was Kumā, whence he was known as Kumā's son. He entered the Order after hearing the venerable Śrīputta preach, and studied on the slope of the frontier hills, but it was only after he had gone to hear the Exalted One that he was able so to correct his exercises, as to realize arahantship. As arahant he saw that the other bhikkhus showed excess in bodily needs, and he admonished them in the doctrine, saying.

O goodly are the things our ears now hear!
 O goodly is the life we here may lead!
 O good it is always to lack a house!²
 Now questioning on things of high import,
 Now showing all due thanks and reverence:
 Such is the calling of the true recluse,
 Of him who owneth naught of anything. (36)

¹ See *Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids, p. 3 f. It is noteworthy that one of the principal lay followers of the Buddha was a lady called the Velukandīyan or -kaṇṭhīka, mother of Nanda. This, however, was probably Uttarī, she can scarcely be our Kumā, since she is represented as telling the chief Theras that her only son Nanda had been put to death as a boy by the rīyas (rājās), or oligarchs. Nanda was a common name, and it is possible, if we do not impatiently class all such references as purely legendary, that to call one Nanda Kumāputta was a convenient distinction among neighbours. It may, of course, have reference to his marriage descent (*Saṃy*, ii 236, *Ang*, i 26, 88, 161, iii 836, iv 63; and cf *Dialogues*, i 193, § 5).

² An allusion to *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 841. This is discussed in *Saṃy*, iii 9 ff., 'lacking a house' is symbolical of 'not being engrossed by objects and pleasures of sense'.

XXXVII

The Comrade of Kumā's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Velukanda, of a wealthy family, and named Sadanta—some say Vasuloki—he became the dear friend of Kumā's son. When the latter left the world, he thought 'That can be no mean religion which Kumā's son has entered.' So he went and heard the Master preach. Thereupon he was filled with a much more fervent desire and entered the Order, dwelling with Kumā's son on the frontier hills devoted to religious exercises.

Now at that time many bhikkhus touring in various districts, going and coming, halted at that station, so that there was much noise. And Sudanta, disturbed in his concentration of mind, made his trouble the goad for the taming of his thoughts, and uttered this verse:

To divers regions back and forth they fare
 Heedless of heart upon their rounds, and balk
 The mind's due concentration. What, forsooth,
 Shall all this vagabondage¹ bring to pass?²
 Hence is it meet that clamour be subdued,
 Nor harass him who fain would meditate. (37)

XXXVIII

Gavampati.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as one of the four lay-companions of the Thera Yasa, who, when they heard of Yasa's renunciation, imitated him, and also won arābantship.³ Thereafter he dwelt in the Añjana Grove at

¹ *Ratthañcariya*, lit., kingdom touring; not a bad predecessor of our 'globe trotting.' It was part of a bhikkhu's duties, though liable to be abused or—at least, as here—mismanaged. *Ratthay* is metrically redundant, but the disturbance in rhythm may be intentional.

² See *Vinaya Texts*, i 110, and below, CXXII. On Gavampati, see also *Dialogues*, ii 373. *Samy*, v. 136.

Siketa experiencing the bliss of emancipation. Now at that time the Exalted One came also with a great company of bhikkhus to the Añjana Grove and the accommodation was insufficient many of the bhikkhus sleeping around the vihāra on the sandbanks of the River Sarabhu¹. Then in the middle of the night the stream rose in flood and a great cry arose from the younger brethren. The Exalted One hearing it sent for the venerable Gavampati and said: Go Gavampati arrest the rising stream and put the bhikkhus at ease. And the Thera by his mystic power did so and stopped the stream afar so that it stood up like a mountain peak. Thenceforth the might of the Thera became known. One day as the Master sat teaching in the midst of a great assembly he saw Gavampati and in compassion for the world praised his virtues in this verse:

Who by his might² reared up the Sarabhu
 Who standeth self reliant and unmoved
 Who hath transcended every tie Gavampati
 Him mighty seer the very gods acclaim
 Surpasser of the coming back to be³ (38)

XXXIX

Tissa

He was born in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu as the son of the Exalted One's aunt and named Tissa⁴. He left the world to follow the Exalted One and dwelling in a woodland settlement was proud because of his rank being

¹ The present city of Ayodhya stands on a corner of the site of what was once the great city 24 miles in circumference of Siketa about 100 miles north north east of Benares. The Sarabhu or Sarayu flows through it into the Ghaghara a tributary of the Ganges. Cf. XXXIII.

² The Commentary reads *vadanti* (they say) instead of *iddhi*.

³ *Byavassa paraga v*. The former half of the gāthā is of the Triṣṭubh the latter of the Jagatī metre.

⁴ The son of Amatī (Amrita) sister of Sudhodana.

irritable and captious in his conduct, so that he did not do his duties with zeal. Then the Master, surveying him one day with celestial vision from afar, while he was sleeping with open mouth at siesta, came over him above, shedding glory down upon him, and wakening him with these words :

As one downsmitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,¹
So let the Brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all worldly passions left behind. (39)

When the Thera heard this, his heart was filled with anguish, and he abode intent on insight. Noting this, the Master taught him the 'Sutta of Thera Tissa,' which is in the Sanyutta collection.² At the close of it Tissa was established in arahantship. And to confess aññā and honour the Master, he uttered that same verse.

NL

Vaddhamāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a Licchavi rāja, he became as a pious lad a servant to the Order. Later, after he had been ordained, he also was subject to sloth and torpor, and was also aroused by the Master with this verse :

As one downsmitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
So let the Brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all lust of living³ left behind. (40)

¹ On this metaphor, see *Sisters*, p 172, verse 7. The Commentary has a note on various sword wounds, but the moral is simply the need of instant action, whether to heal or to extinguish. See verse 1,162 f.

² *Sary*, in 106 Tissa confesses to the brethren his mental sluggishness and distaste for religion. They bring him to the Master. The Homily, with catechism, is in keeping with the above. In the *Dhammapada Commentary* (i. 87) he is called Thulla Tissa (Fat Tissa). Cf *Sary*, i. 13

³ Lat., of becoming. For *satto* read *sato*

PART V

XLI

Śrīvaddha.

HE was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rijagaha, in the house of a prosperous brahmin. Previous causes induced him, when King Bimbisāra met the Master, to take orders, and he went to a certain forest near the hills Vebhāra and Paṇḍava, and there dwelt devoted to religious exercises. And there arose once a great storm, and the lightnings entered the cave. But the wind from the pregnant clouds assuaged the heat and fever oppressing the Thera, so that by the more suitable temperature his heart grew concentrated, and he was able to exercise such insight that he won arahantship. So he, with aññā as a pretext, broke forth into this utterance touching himself:

The lightnings flash o'en in the rocky cave,
Smiting Vebhāra's crest and Paṇḍava;¹
And, in the mountain-bosom hid, a child
Of that incomparable Master sits
Aident in contemplative ecstasy. (11)

XLII

Khadīra-Vanīya.

(Revata.)

He was reborn, in this Buddha-age, in the kingdom of Magadha, at the village of Nalaka, as the son of Rūpasārī, the brahminnee. When he was grown up his mother desired

¹ Two of the five crests in the group of hill ranges rising above Rijagaha (Rijgar). The former name persists as Baubhāra or Vaubhāra (see illustration), which rises to the East. The last line expands the one word *ghāyati* a word meaning in Pali, both 'burns' and 'meditates in jhāna'. Cf. vii-2 1.167

he should marry, but he heard of Sāriputta's¹ renunciation, and said 'If my elder brother Upatissa has laid aside this wealth, I too will vomit back his vomit,' and he went to the bhikkhus and, announcing himself as the younger brother of the 'General of the Norm,'² he asked for ordination. When he had won arahantship in the Acacia Wood,³ he went to Svatthī to salute the Exalted One and his brother, staying a few days at the Jeta Grove. Then the Master, seated in the conclave of the Ariyans, assigned 'Revata the Acacia woodlander the first place among forest bhikkhus'⁴

At another time he went to his native village and fetched away his three nephews, the sons of his three sisters, Cāla, Upacāla, and Sisūpacāla,⁵ named respectively, Cāla, Upacāla, and Sisūpacāla, and ordained them. One day the Thera was ill, and Sāriputta heard of it and said 'I will make inquiry after Revata's state and treatment.' And seeing him coming far off, Revata admonished the three novices to be heedful, saying

Come, Cāla, and you, Upacāla too,
Sisūpacāla also, take good heed,
Be on your guard for he who comes to you
Is as a wondrous archer splitting hairs (43)

And when they heard him the novices went forth to meet the General of the Norm, and while he conversed with their uncle, sat near composed and intent. When he approached them, they rose up, bowed, and remained standing. The Thera asked them at which vihāra they were

¹ Rupasāri a relation to Upatissa Sāriputta (i.e., son of Bari), the chief Thera is given in *Dhp. Com.*, i 88 and below CCLIX.

² The usual title of Sāriputta.

³ Khadira, Acacia Catechu according to Childers.

⁴ *Ang.*, i 24. For Revata a longer poem see CCXLIV.

⁵ See *Sutras*, Ps lx., lx. lxi. In the absence of the Commentary Dr Neumann has assumed that the three masculine vocatives in the text are feminine and that Revata is addressing his sisters. Pronounced Cal as Chāl in all these names.

each dwelling and they replied At such an one Then instructing the boys he said My little brother has in thee I taught the lesser duties belonging to the Norm and thus praising Revata he departed

XIII

Sumangala

He was reborn in this Buddha age at a hamlet near Savatthi in a poor family Grown up he earned his living in the fields furnished with a little sickle plough and spade Now one day when King Pasenadi of Kosala was bestowing a great offering on the Exalted One and the Order he went taking milk and butter along with men who were taking woodwork Seeing the attentions and honours paid to the Brethren and Sisters he thought

These Sakyan recluses live in sheltered lodgings and in delicate robes—what if I too were now to leave the world? And he approached a certain great Thera and made known his intention The Thera out of compassion admitted him and sent him into the forest with an exercise But in solitude he pined and wavered and departed to his native village Then as he went along he saw the peasants ploughing the fields in soiled garments covered with dust blown by hot winds And he thought Truly these fellows earn their living in great misery! And feeling anxious his insight approaching maturity he set himself to do the exercises that had been given him going to the roots of a tree and biding in seclusion Thus he finally won arahantship Thereafter to celebrate his own emancipation from the ills of life he broke forth into this psalm

Well rid well rid O excellently rid
Am I from these three crooked tasks and tools
Rid o my reaping with your sickles rid
Of trudging after ploughs and rid s run back
Of bending o'er these wretched little spades

Though they be ever here, ay, ever here,
 Enough of them, I say, for me, enough!
 Go meditate, Sumangala, ay, go
 And meditate, Sumangala, and bide
 Earnest and diligent, Sumangala!¹ (43)

XLIV

Sānu.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in the family of a lay-follower, after the father had left his home. The mother, naming him Sānu, brought him when he was seven years old to the bhikkhus for ordination, deeming aha would thus ensure for him supreme happiness. Now Sānu the Novice became very learned, a teacher of doctrine, and practised in the jhāna of love, being beloved by gods and men. And as we know from the Sānu-Sutta (*Samyutta Nikaya*, i. 108) his mother, in his previous birth, was a Yakkha.² Now as time went on Sānu lost his intellectual discernment and grew distraught, and longed to go a-roaming. Then his previous mother perceived this, and warned his human mother saying: 'Your son has a fancy to roam, wherefore bid him rouse himself. Tell him what the Yakkhas say:

*Do naught of evil, open or concealed,
 If evil thou now doest or wilt do,
 Thou'lt not escape from ill, e'en though thou flee.*³

¹ This curious and racy verse runs into four lines of text, is of no assignable metre or symmetry, and would seem to represent a Walt-Whitmanesque effort of a peasant bhikkhu to turn out rough hewn the utterances of his emotions. As such, it is of striking interest, and is paralleled in homeliness and verve by the verse of Muttī (*Sisters*, Pt. II.), herself of humble circumstances, rejoicing to be rid of her special trio of crooked things—husband, quern, and churn.

² The Yakkhas, denizens of the jungle, and man-eaters, conceivably the legendary survivors of aborigines, but, as here, invested with more than human intuition.

³ *Samy.*, ii. 271, *Uddāna*, v. 4, *Sisters*, verses 246, 247.

Thus saying the Yakkha mother disappeared. But when the human mother heard she was overwhelmed with grief. Then Sānu the novice taking his robe and bowl set out early and came to his mother. At sight of her sorrow he said 'Mother, why do you weep? When she told him why, he said this verse

Mother, they weep for the dead or the living they may
not see

But for him O mother, who lives who is here why
mournest thou me? (11)

His mother answered him from the Suttas 'This is death O blud! Thus that one should reject the training and turn again to lower things ' and with this verse

*They mourn for son who li th dead or him
If ho is alive but whom they no more see
And him they mourn who though he did renounce
The world my son doth hither come again
I or though he live again yet is he dead
Driven forth from burning embers O my dear,
Dost thou on embers wish to fall again '*

When he heard her anguish seized on Sānu the novice and making firm his insight, he soon won arahantship. And thereupon thinking 'My victory is due to that verse he repeated it as his psalm ' 2

XLV

Ramāṇyavihārīn

Reborn in this Buddha age at Rājagṛha, as the son of a leading citizen, he lived in youthful wantonness. One day he saw the king's officers arresting an adulterer, and grow

¹ Sayy n 2nd Suttas ver es 216 24th the verse is from Sayy i 209

² The Dhā naya lī Commentary discussing verse 270 has, as its subject Sānu and his mother. His own question was the perulimate though not the proximate cause of his victory

ing agitated, he heeded to the Master teaching, and left the world. As a bhikkhu but still susceptible to fleshly lusts, he made himself a well garnished chamber,¹ well furnished as to food and drink, seat and couch, and so he ever dwelt. For this reason he was known as Ramaniya viharin (Pleasant lodge Brother). But his previous indulgence making the recluse's life too hard for him, he felt unworthy to accept the offerings of the faithful and said 'I will roam.' On his way he sat down beneath a tree. And as carts were passing by on the road one ox being weary stumbled at a rough place and fell. The carter loosened its yoke, gave it hay and water and so allayed its fatigue, then he harnessed it again and they went on. And the Thera thought 'Even as this ox having stumbled has arisen and draws his own load, so doth it behove me, who once have stumbled in the forest of vice, to arise and carry out the duty of a recluse. And thoughtfully turning back, he told what he had done and seen to Thera Upāli² was by him absolved from his fault and helped back into right ways. And not long after he attained arahantship. Thereafter enjoying the bliss of freedom he set forth his lapse and return in this verse

Even though he trip and fall, the mottled brute
Of noble breed will steadfast stand once more
So look on me as one who having learned
Of Him, the All Enlightened One have gained
True insight, am become of noble breed
And of the Very Buddha very child³ (45)

¹ Or well polished *susamattiya*

² See Ps CLXXX. As the greatest expert in Vinaya or the discipline of the Order, Upāli (if it be this Upāli who is meant) was eminently qualified to judge respecting his lapse and to counsel him.

³ As this verse stands in the PTS version it is incomplete. The Commentary leads us to suppose that it should be completed as is the case in verse 174 q r.

XLVI

Samiddhi

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Rājagaha, in a clansman's family¹ From the time he was born the wealth of his family increased, and he himself, handsome and virtuous, became known as Samiddhi (Prospero). He saw the power of the Buddha when the latter was met by Bimbisara,² won faith in him and left the world, abiding devoted to meditation. When the Exalted One was staying at the Tapoda Park³ Samiddhi one day was musing in exquisite joy on his good fortune as a bhikkhu. Then Mara the Evil One, unable to bear it, made a fearful noise near him, as if the very earth were splitting. The Thera told this to the Exalted One. The latter bade him persist where he was and think no more about it. He obeyed, and soon after won arahantship. Mara, unaware of it, once more created a fearful noise. But the Thera felt no fear. 'Undaunted by all such Maras, not once have I turned a hair!' And confessing aṭṭhi, he uttered this verse:

In trust and hope forth from my home I came
 Into the homeless life. And there in me
 Have mindfulness and insight grown, and tense
 And well composed my heart and mind. Make thou
 Whatever shams thou list, thoult harm me not. (46)

And Mara thus rebuked, said, 'The recluse knows me' and vanished from that place.

¹ *Kulagehe*. Cf Rhys Davids *Buddhist India* pp 17-20.

² *Vinaya Texts* 1: 186.

³ This episode is related in nearly the same words and with the same gathā in the *Māra-Samyutta* (*Samy* 1: 119 f, p 91) but the geography is a little halting. In the *Nikāya* the locality is Sīlavatī of the Sākya; the Tapoda Park was on the river of that name at Rājagaha. Samiddhi, in the double role of Adonis and Galahad is the subject of the 'Samiddhi jātaka' (*Jātaka* 11: No 167).

And Valliya

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well roofed
 Herein earnest and strenuous I dwell
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (53)

And Uthya

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well roofed
 Herein I dwell unmated and alone ¹
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain god, rain ! (54)

LV

Añjana vaniya ²

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Vesali, of the family of a raja³ of the Vajjians. When he was grown up, a threefold panic had arisen in the Vajjian territory—to wit the fear of drought, of sickness, and of non human foes. This is all told in the *Commentary on the Ratana Sutta* ⁴. When the Exalted One quieted the panic at Vesali and a great concourse heard him preach, this raja's son heard him also, and winning faith left the world.

When he had fulfilled the preliminary training, he dwelt in the Añjana Wood at Saleta. And when the rains drew near, he procured a worn castaway couch, and placing it on four stones and enclosing it above and around with grasses, he set up a door to it, and so got a sheltered

¹ *Adutiyo* can mean this or else free from craving. Cf. verse 896 n.

² The *Commentary* has *Anjanavanura*.

³ On *rajas* see above LI.

⁴ Or *Jewel Discourse Sutta Nipita* and *Kiuddaka P'atha*, an interesting remark in the *Commentary* he refers to is the *Paranattika totika*. I have found no canonical account of this panic.

retreat for the rainy season After only one month his strenuous study won for him arahantship Thereafter feeling the bliss of emancipation he roused himself and contemplating his victory with rapture uttered this verse

Deep in the leafy glades of Vṣṣṣam
My couch into a little hut I made
The threefold wisdom have I made my own
And all the Buddhas ordinance is done¹ (55)

LVI

Kutiviharin²

His story (in this life) is like that of Anjana vaniya with this difference while striving for insight he was walking by the fields and took shelter from the rain in the little empty hut of the field watchman and there won arahantship Thereupon the watchman came and said Who is in the hut? The answer was A bhikkhu is in the hut and the rest of the verse

Who's in my little hut? A brother tis
Who in thy little hut all passions tamed
Hath thoroughly set his mind Know this O
friend
'Twas not for naught thou madst thy little
hut' (56)

Then the watchman said Luck indeed for me good luck indeed is mine that you honour should have come into my little hut and be sitting there¹

And the Exalted One heard their converse by his celestial

¹ Verse 54 + 3

² I.e. hut dweller in the Commentary *Kuṭi vihāriya*.

hearing, and discerned the watchman's pleasure And he addressed these verses to him

*Within the hut a brother duells, peace in his heart,
 purged of all taint
 Fruit of this deed shall be to thee lord of the gods
 thoult come to be
 Six times, ay, seven, lord of the gods, ruler over celestial
 realms
 Thereafter all thy passions tamed a Silent Buddha¹
 thou shalt be*

From that time the Thera began to be called Kutiviharin

LVII

Kutiviharin (2)

His story resembles that of the Añjana Wood Thera, with this difference When he had left the world under similar circumstances, he pursued his religious studies in a very old hut And he thought 'This old hut is now rotten, I ought to make another So he turned his mind to new action² Then a spirit, seeking salvation, sought to agitate him by uttering this verse, simple in words but profound in meaning

*This was an ancient hut, sayst thou³ To build
 Another hut, a new one, is thy wish⁴
 O cast away the longing for a hut¹
 New hut will bring new pain, brother, to thee³ (57)*

When he heard these words, the Thera grew anxious, and with effort and endeavour establishing insight, soon won arahantship Thereupon he repeated the verse as that which had spurred him on to victory, and as the conclusion of his añña Because he had attained while in the hut, he, too, became known as Kutiviharin

¹ Iaccekabuddha See *Suteras*, p. 11 n. 4

² Kamma karma

³ Cf. *Sarabhangas* CCXXVIII New hut symbolizes rebirth

LXIII

Ramanīyakutīka.

His story resembles that of the *Ājanna* Woodlander, with this difference—he dwelt in a hut beside a hamlet in the *Vajjian* territory. It was a pretty pleasing little *ekālet*, with floor and walls well prepared, surrounded by park and tank, and with its enclosure of smooth pebbly sand. And the *Thera's* excellent virtues enhanced its attractiveness. He there won arāhantship, and there continued to dwell. Now when people came to see the *vihāra* (settlement), they could see the hut. One day a few *śīl* women came by, and seeing the attractiveness of the hut said 'The recluse living there might be a youth we could fascinate.' So they accosted him, saying 'Delightful, sir, is your dwelling place. We too are delightful to see just in the prime of our youth' and they began to show off their raiment and so forth. But the *Thera* set forth his passionless state in this verse

Delightful is my little hut the gift
Most fair of faithful, pious folk.
What need of maidens then have I? Nay, go
Thither to them ye women, who have need of
you (S)

By this 'not needing' saying, the declaration of the *Thera's* arāhantship is implied.

LXIV

Kosalavāharin.

His story resembles that of the *Ājanna*-Woodlander, with this difference—after his novitiate he dwelt in the forest by a village in the kingdom of *Kośālyā* near the dwelling of a *lay* adherent. The latter, seeing him camped under a

tree, made a little hut and gave it him. There the Thera attained arahantship. Then filled with rapture at his emancipation, he uttered this psalm:

Strong in my faith¹ I left the world. Now here
 Within the woods a hut is made for me;
 And I with zeal and ardour meditate,
 With watchful wit and clarity of mind. (59)

This was his confession of aññā, and because he dwelt so long in Kosala, he became known as the Kosala settler.

LX

Sīvali.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Suppavāsa, the king's daughter.² When his mother was not able to bring forth and lay seven days in great suffering, she said to her husband: 'Before I die I will give a gift.' And she sent him to the Master, saying: 'Go tell of my state to the Master, and invite him; and what he says, mark well and come and tell it me.' He did her bidding, and the Master said: 'May Suppavāsī, daughter of the Koliyas, be happy. May she, happy and healthy, give birth to a healthy child.' The rāja heard, saluted the Exalted One and set out for the village. Even before he came, Suppavāsā was delivered of a son. The persons

¹ 'When I saw the might of the Exalted One at Vesālī, I thought "Absolutely able to guide is this doctrine and ordinance, therefore shall I verily through this attainment be set free from old age and death." And because of the faith thus arisen, I went forth' (Commentary) The last two lines in the stanza are an expansion of four adjectives, the sentence lacking expressed subject and predicate

² King of Koliya The story is told in the introduction to the 100th Jātaka (i 242), in *Udana* (II. 8), and in *Dhṛ. Com* on verse 414 (cf *Ang*, ii 62) The mother, in the legend, was unable for seven years and seven days to bring forth her child

who had surrounded her with tearful faces went forth delighted to tell the raja. He saw them coming and thought 'That which He of the Ten Powers told me has been fulfilled.' And he went to the princess and told her what the Master had pronounced. Then she bade him show hospitality to the Buddha and the Order for seven days. And saying, 'The child is born, bringing gladness of heart to all our kin,' they named him Sivah (Auspicious).

By the seventh day from his birth he was able to do anything. Sariputta General of the Norm, conversed with him on that day,¹ and said 'Does it not behoove one who has overcome such suffering as you have done to leave the world?' 'Sir,' babbled the infant, 'I would leave the world.' Suppavasa saw them talking, and asked the Thera what he had said. 'We spoke of the long suffering he has overcome. With your leave I will ordain him.' She replied 'It is well, sir, ordain him.' And Sariputta, ordaining him, said 'Sivah, you want no other exhortation than the cause of the long suffering you have overcome. Think on that.' 'Sir,' replied the child, 'yours was the burden of ordaining me, but I will find out what I am capable of doing.' At the moment when the first lock of his hair was cut off, he was established in the fruition of the First Path, when the second was cut, in that of the Second Path, and so for the third and fourth. ²

Other teachers saw that after Sariputta had ordained him, he went the same day, and taking up his abode in a secluded hut; meditated on his woefully delayed birth, and so, his knowledge attaining maturity, descended into the avenue of insight casting out all the intoxicants (of the mind)³ and thus attaining arahantship. Thereupon ex

¹ The verse in the *Dihammapiṭṭa* (414) is here quoted and the episode narrated in the Commentary (PTS edition vol. 24.)

² Here follows the episode dealt with by the Commentary on Ang, i 24 where Sivah's eminence as recipient of offerings is stated.

³ See p. 52, n. 4

perienēg the bliss of emancipation, he in emotional rapture uttered this psalm

Now have they prospered, all my highest aims,
To compass which I sought this still retreat
The holy lore and liberty, my quest,
All lurking vain conceits I cast away (60)

PART VII

LVI

Vappa

HE was reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of a brāhmin Vasettha. Now when Asita the seer¹ had declared that the young noble Siddhattha would become omniscient, Vappa with four other sons of brāhmine Kondañña at their head,² became recluses. When Asita's prophecy had been fulfilled, Vappa heard the Buddha preach and thought 'I will win salvation. He was present during the six years when the Great Being made his ascetic struggles, thereupon disgusted when the latter again took solid food, he went to Isipatana, and there met the Master then starting the Wheel of the Norm a rolling and was converted. On the fifth day he and his four mates won arahantship. Thereupon reflecting on the might of the Master and the blindness of the world, and how the Ariyan state bestowed vision, he said this verse

He who doth see can see another seer,
Him too who hath no eyes wherewith to see,
He who himself sees not, can neer discern
Either the eye that sees not, or the seer³ (61)

¹ *Sutta Nipata*, verse 128 ff. *Vinaya Texts* 1: 90 n. 1. *Buddhist Birth Stories* p. 113.

² See CCXLVI.

³ There is here an allusion to the undiscerning attitude of the five recluses over against the spiritual evolution of the Buddha recorded by the books referred to.

LXII -

Vajji-putta¹

He was born in this Buddhe age at Vesālī in the family of a councillor² and was named Vajji son. He saw the majesty of the Exalted One when the latter came to Vesālī, believed, entered the Order, and after his novitiate dwelt in a wood near Vesālī. Now a festival took place at Vesālī and there was dancing singing and reciting all the people happily enjoying the festival. And the sound thereof distracted the bhikkhu so that he quitted his solitude gave up his exercise, and showed forth his disgust in this verse

*Each by himself we in the forest dwell
Like logs rejected by the woodman's craft
So flit the days one hither another by
Who more unlucky in their lot than we!*

Now a woodland sprite heard him and had compassion on the bhikkhu, and thus upbraided him. Even though you, bhikkhu, speak scornfully of forest life the wise desiring solitude think much of it, and to show him the advantage of it spoke this verse

*Each by himself we in the forest dwell
Like logs rejected by the woodman's craft
And many a one doth envy me my lot,
Even as the hell bound him who fares to
heaven (62)*

Then the bhikkhu stirred like a thoroughbred horse by the spur, went down into the avenue of insight, and striving soon won arahantship. Thereupon he thought, 'The fury's verse has been my goad' and he recited it himself

¹ The son of the Vajjians or simply, the Vajjīan. See CLIX.

² The Vajjians were a republic

LXIII

Pakkha.

(The Cripple)

Reborn in this Buddha-age among the Sākiyans, in the township of Devadaha, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Young¹ Saymoda. But inasmuch as, when a boy, he suffered from rheumatism,² and at times walked like a cripple, he grew to be called Pakkha (=cripple), and retained the name after his recovery. He was present when the Exalted One visited his kinsfolk,³ won faith in him, entered the Order, and dwelt in the forest. Going one day to the village for alms, he sat down beneath a tree. Then a kite, seizing some flesh, flew up into the sky. Him many kites attacked, making him drop the meat. Another kite grabbed the fallen flesh, and was plundered by another. And the bhikkhu thought, 'Just like that meat are worldly desires, common to all, full of pain and woe.' And reflecting hereon, and how they were impermanent and so on, he carried out his mission, sat down for his afternoon rest, and expanding insight won arahantship. Thereupon making the base of his emotion his goad, he confessed aññā in this verse:

They fly at what is fall'n, and as it lies,
Swooping in greed they come again, again. . . .
But what 'twas meet to do, that have I done,
And what is verily delectable,
Therein was my delight: thus happily
Has happiness been sought after and won.⁴ (63)

¹ *Kumhāra*, which means simply 'youth,' is a distinctive title of a young noble, as *mānata* is of a young brahmin. We have no suitable word. Cf. the Greek *leuros*.

² *Vāṭarego*, lit., 'wind illness.' On the synonym *vīṭabūdhō*, see *Mūlinda*, i 191, and below, CLIII.

³ See *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 121 ff.

⁴ *I e.*, says the Commentary. 'By the happiness of the attainment of fruition has Nibbāna, which is beyond happiness (or is exceeding

LXIV

Vimala-Kondañña.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Ambapālī, his father being King Bimbisāra.¹ She named the child Vimala, but afterwards he was known as Vimala-Kondañña.² He was convinced by the Buddha-majesty of the Exalted One at Vesālī, left the world for the Order, and attained arahantship. He declared his aññā in this verse :

By the bright Banner came I here to birth
In her called of the Tree. And by the FLAG
That smites the flag, is the great Flag o'er-
thrown.³ (61)

great happiness, *accanta sukha*), been won, and by that happiness of insight, which has become a happy mode of procedure, has the bliss of Fruition, of Nibbāna, been reached' The latter interpretation, as Dr. Neumann has pointed out—winning happiness by happiness—is, in the *Mayhima Nikāya* (i 93 f.), contrasted with the Jain point of view 'Nay, friend Gotama, happiness is not to be got at by happiness, but by suffering'—the ascetic standpoint Cf. CLXXI

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, Ps. lxvi, where he is said to have converted his mother

² Vimala = spotless There is no apparent clue to his acquiring the brahmin clan-name of Kondañña. Cf. CCXLVI.

³ This verse is one of the allusion riddles dear to ancient poets The one word *ketu* (banner, flag) is symbolical (1) of Bimbisāra's kingship; (2) of the Dhamma 'For the Norm is the banner of the seers,' quotes the Commentary (*Ang.*, ii. 51, m. 150), (3) of the vice of conceit (*māna* 'flaunting a flag . . . desire of the heart for self advertisement') (*Dhs.*, 1116; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 293, n. 3; (4) of the hosts of evil Hence the fourfold iteration of *ketu* may be thus paraphrased: 'By me, son of a king (1), through the aid of the Dhamma (2), smiting down evil (4), is conceit (3), with all soul-illusion involved therein, overthrown' The Tree is the Mango (*amba*), beneath which, in her legend, Ambapālī was found as an infant.

LXV

Ukkhepakata-Vaccha.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthi, as the son of a brahmin of the Vaccha family. He heard the Master preach, entered the Order, and went to dwell at a village settlement in Kosala. Through the bhikkhus who came there from time to time he mastered the doctrine, although he did not know how to distinguish what was Vinaya, what Suttanta, and what Abhidhamma. This too, however, he learnt from questioning Sāriputta, so that, whereas other bhikkhus were versed in Vinaya, or in some other part of doctrine, he had learnt the Pīṭakas by heart, even before the Council, when they were recited.¹ And soon after attaining this proficiency, he won arahantship. Thereafter he became a teacher, and one day, addressing himself as another person, he uttered this verse :

That heaped wealth by Vaccha's toil thrown up²
 By steady increment these many years,
 That doth he to the laity declare,
 Seated in honour, filled with splendid joy. (65)

¹ See *Vinaya Texts*, iii 373 ff. It is a fixed tenet with Dhammapāla (pace other commentators) that the doctrines and discipline of his faith had existed in the infinite past in the form of three Pīṭakas, revived under each Buddha. Councils had but to decide on the subject matter to be included in that form, and to 'recite' the wording of the same. Cf. *Mahātamsa*, Geiger's translation; P.T.S., 1912, chapters vii.-v.

² The subrepetit by which he is called means Throwing up made Vaccha, Vaccha the Pile maker, to emphasize his eminent repository of orally learnt doctrine. The Vaccha family contributed many Theras; hence, no doubt, the need of distinguishing. Cf. IX., XIII., LXXI., CXII., CXIII.

LXVI

Meghiya

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sakyan raja, he was named Meghiya¹. When grown up, he entered the Order and ministered to the Exalted One while he was residing at Gālika on the River Himikāla. And seeing a pleasant mango wood he desired to dwell there. Twice the Exalted One refused, but at his third request, let him go. There, however, being consumed by evil thoughts as by flies, he got no concentration of mind, so he returned and told the Master. The latter said, 'When the heart, Meghiya, is not ripe for emancipation, five things conduce thereto,' and admonished him. Where upon Meghiya attained arahantship, and announced his aṁṇa in this verse

He the great Horo* counselled me whose mind
Hath all transcended that our minds may know
And I hearing the Norm held close to Him
In loving pupillage and piety²
The threefold wisdom have I made my own
And all the Buddhas ordinance is done (66)

LXVII

Ekadhamma Savaniya

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Setavya³ in the family of a councillor. When the Exalted One visited Setavya, and stayed in the Singsapa Wood, he went to listen

¹ Meaning cloudy 'cloud like' a name of happier augury in India than in more humid climates. Told more fully in *Ud. na IV, i*.

² More literally, dwelt near him having loved or being devoted to. But the idiom to leave the world dwelling near a Teacher implies the relation of pupillage.

³ In Kosala. Cf. *Dialogues* ii 349 *Sutta Nip. ta* verse 101² *Ang* ii 37.

LXV

Ukkhepakata-Vaccha.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Sāvattbī, as the son of a brahmin of the Vaccha family. He heard the Master preach, entered the Order, and went to dwell at a village settlement in Kosala. Through the bhikkhus who came there from time to time he mastered the doctrine, although he did not know how to distinguish what was Vinaya, what Suttanta, and what Abhidhamma. This too, however, he learnt from questioning Sāriputta, so that, whereas other bhikkhus were versed in Vinaya, or in some other part of doctrine, he had learnt the Piṭakas by heart, even before the Council, when they were recited.¹ And soon after attaining this proficiency, he won arahantship. Thereafter he became a teacher, and one day, addressing himself as another person, he uttered this verse :

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 By steady increment these many years,
 That doth he to the laity declare,
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LXVI

Meghiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Meghiya¹. When grown up, he entered the Order and ministered to the Exalted One while he was residing at Cāhka on the River Kimikālā. And seeing a pleasant mango-wood he desired to dwell there. Twice the Exalted One refused, but at his third request, let him go. There, however, being consumed by evil thoughts as by flies, he got no concentration of mind, so he returned and told the Master. The latter said, 'When the heart, Meghiya, is not ripe for emancipation, five things conduce thereto,' and admonished him. Whereupon Meghiya attained arahantship, and announced his aññā in this verse:

Ho, the great Hero; counselled me, whose mind
Hath all transcended that our minds may know.
And I, hearing the Norm, held close to Him
In loving pupillage and piety.²
The threefold wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (66)

LXVII

Ekadhamma Savaniya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Setavyā,³ in the family of a councillor. When the Exalted One visited Setavyā, and stayed in the Singsapa Wood, he went to listen

¹ Meaning 'cloudy,' 'cloud like,' a name of happier augury in India than in more humid climates. Told more fully in *Udāna*, IV., 1.

² More literally, 'dwelt near him having loved, or being devoted to.' But the idiom, to leave the world dwelling 'near' a Teacher implies the relation of pupillage.

³ In Kosala. Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 349; *Sutta Nipīta*, verse 1012; *Ang.*, ii. 37.

LXV

Ukkhepakata-Vaccha.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, as the son of a brahmin of the Vaccha family. He heard the Master preach, entered the Order, and went to dwell at a village settlement in Kosala. Through the bhikkhus who come there from time to time he mastered the doctrine, although he did not know how to distinguish what was Vinaya, what Suttanta, and what Abhidhamma. This too, however, he learnt from questioning Sāriputta, so that, whereas other bhikkhus were versed in Vinaya, or in some other part of doctrine, he had learnt the Pīṭakas by heart, even before the Council, when they were recited.¹ And soon after attaining this proficiency, he won arāhantship. Thereafter he became a teacher, and one day, addressing himself as another person, he uttered this verse :

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¹ See *Vinaya Texts*, iii 373 ff. It is a fixed tenet with Dhammapāla (pace other commentators) that the doctrines and discipline of his faith had existed in the infinite past in the form of three Pīṭakas, revived under each Buddha. Councils had but to decide on the subject matter to be included in that form, and to 'recite' the wording of the same. Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Geiger's translation; P.T.S., 1912, chapters iii-v.

² The subriquet by which he is called means 'Throwing up made Vaccha, Vaccha the Pile maker, to emphasise his eminent repository of orally-learned doctrine. The Vaccha family contributed many Theras, hence, no doubt, the need of distinguishing. Cf. IX, XIII, LXVI, CXII, CXIII.

LXVI

Meghiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Meghiya.¹ When grown up, he entered the Order and ministered to the Exalted One while he was residing at Cūlikā on the River Kimikālā. And seeing a pleasant mango-wood he desired to dwell there. Twice the Exalted One refused, but at his third request, let him go. There, however, being consumed by evil thoughts as by flies, he got no concentration of mind, so he returned and told the Master. The latter said, 'When the heart, Meghiya, is not ripe for emancipation, five things conduce thereto,' and admonished him. Whereupon Meghiya attained arahantship, and announced his aññā in this verse :

He, the great Hero; counselled me, whose mind
Hath all transcended that our minds may know.
And I, hearing the Norm, held close to Him
In loving pupillage and piety.²
The threefold wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (66)

LXVII

Ekadhamma Savanīya.

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Setavyā,³ in the family of a councillor. When the Exalted One visited Setavyā, and stayed in the Singsapa Wood, he went to listen

¹ Meaning 'cloudy,' 'cloud like,' a name of happier augury in India than in more humid climates. Told more fully in *Uddāna*, IV, 1.

² More literally, 'dwelt near him having loved, or being devoted to.' But the idiom, to leave the world dwelling 'near' a Teacher implies the relation of pupillage.

³ In Kosala. Cf *Dialogues*, n 349, *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 1012, *Ang.*, n 37.

to him, saluting, and sitting down at one side. The Master contemplated his inclinations, and taught him the Norm in the verse

*Impermanent indeed are all component things*¹

And he, influenced by his past resolve (to leave the world when the Norm was revived), discerned the truth more plainly, left the world, and studying the notions of ill and of the absence of soul acquired insight and won arahantship. And because, by one hearing of the Norm alone, his destiny was fulfilled, he acquired the name of Once Norm hearer (Ekadhammasavaniya). His añña he confessed in this verse

Burnt up in me is all that doth defile,
And rooted out all life's continuance,
Slain utterly the cycle of re birth
Now is there no more coming back to he² (67)

LXVIII

Ekudamiya³

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi, as the son of a wealthy councillor. Come to years of discretion, he was convinced by the majesty of the Buddha, at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, and left the world. Fulfilling his novitiate and dwelling in the forest, he came to the Master to learn. And at that time the Master, seeing

¹ See *Dialogues* ii 170. 'They're transient all etc.

² This phrase and that of 'life's continuance' are in the Pali both *bhava* first plural then singular with prefix of *puna* 'again', lit. 'becomings and becoming again. By the plural form the three chief modes of rebirth are understood—*līma vipā*, and *ar pa-bhava*—as well as both *lāmmabhava* or that continuity of action or character which determines future *bhava*, and the *uppati bhava* or resultant rebirth itself (so the Commentary). This doctrine is explained in the *Compendium of Piṭṭop'ā*, especially pp. 202-204.

³ So the Commentary in the text *Ekudamiya*.

Sariputta rapt in contemplation near him broke forth in'o this psalm

He who doth dwell on highest plane of thought etc¹

And the brother hearing him, even when once more far away, and for a long time in the forest kept repeating the psalm over and anon, so that it became customary to call him 'Ekādānyā 'One Psalm'er'

Now one day he got unity and concentration of mind and so insight expanding he won arahantship. And dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he was once invited by the Treasurer of the Ārām² to be tested in exposition with the words 'Friend, expound the doctrine to me. And from long dwelling in mind over that verse he uttered it then again

He who doth dwell on highest plane of thought
With zeal unfaltering Sage, Arhant
In wisdom's branches³ trained —such as he is
No sorrows may beset him who with mind
Calm and serene and clear abideth ay (68)

This became the confession of his ānā

LXX

Channa

Reborn when our Exalted One was alive in the house of King Suddhodana, of a slave, he was called Channa. A contemporary of the future Buddha, he found faith in the Master when the latter returned to meet his kinsfolk. He thereupon entered the Order. Out of his affection for Him, egoistic pride in 'our Buddha, our Doctrine' arose, and he could not conquer this fondness, nor perform his duty as novice. When the Master had passed away, and his injunction that the higher penalty be imposed on Channa was carried out,¹ the latter suffered anguish, extirpated his fondness and soon after attained arahantship. Thereafter, blissful in his emancipation, he expressed his rapture in this psalm.

I heard the Truth which that Great One had taught
And felt its mighty virtues, known by Him
Who all things with supernal insight knew.²
The Path for winning things ambrosial
I found. Past master He in sooth to guide
Into the way of blest security. (69)

LXX

Punna

Reborn in this Buddha age in the Sanaparanta country at the port of Supparaka³ in the family of a burgess he was named Punna. Arrived at years of discretion, he went with a great caravan of merchandise to Savatthi when the

¹ *Dialogues* ii 171. *Vinaya Texts* iii 381-384.

² Lat. 'by supreme knowledge which has understood everything

³ Cf. *Mahatamsa* (Geiger's translation) 54 n. 3.

Exalted One happened to be there. And he went to hear the Master at the Vihara with the local lay-followers. There he believed, and left the world. And for a time he won favour among the teachers and preceptors by his skill in dialectic. Then one day he went to the Master, and asked for a lesson, so that he, hearing propositions pair-wise, might therewith go to dwell in Sunāparanta. To him the Exalted One uttered a 'Lion's Roar' of a lesson, to wit: 'Now there are objects, Punna, cognizable by the eye, etc.'¹ So Punna departed, and studying concentration and insight, acquired the three forms of higher cognition.

When he won arahantship he won over many people to the faith, even 500 lay-brethren and as many lay-sisters.

And as he lay near final death he confessed *anā* in this verse:

Only virtue here is highest; but the wise
man is supreme.

He who wisdom hath and virtue,
He 'mong men and gods is victor.² (70)

¹ This is told in the Sutta on Punna's lesson (*Majjh*, iii. 267 ff., *Samy*, iv. 60, also *Divyāvadāna*, 87-89). 'Pair-wise' in the text is *yamala*. Judging by the context in the 'lesson,' compared with the method used throughout the book of the *Yamalas* (*Abbhudhamma-Pitaka*), this means that the thesis is stated, and is then followed by either its converse or other logically contrasted form.

² This forms a verse in *Silavā's* poem (CCXLI, verse 619). There is a greater simplicity in this stanza, about the diction and the ideas, as of a man who had spent his life giving simple teaching in ethics to rough rustic audiences, such, as one gathers, he would meet in Sunāparanta. The Master led him to expect rough treatment at their hands (*Majjh*, loc. cit.). The rhythm above almost parallels the Pali: *Silam eva idha aggan, paññarā pana uttamo*, etc.

PART VIII

LXXI

Vacchapāla

HE was born in this Buddha age at Rajagaha, as the son of a rich brahmin, and was named Vacchapāla (calf herd). He saw when the Master met Bimbisara the self submission of Urubela-Kaesapa to the Exalted One,¹ and believing, entered the Order. In a week he had so developed insight as to have acquired sixfold abhiññā.

As arahant he extolled in sheer happiness his attainment of Nibbana in this verse

Is there a man who can the truth discern
Tho' it be very subtle and refined,
Who, skilled to measure spiritual growth,
Is yet of lowly and of gentle mind,
Who shapes his life by rule of Them that Wake²
For him Nibbāna is not hard to find (71)

And this was the Brother's confession of aññā

LXXII

Ātuma

Now he was reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi, as the son of a councillor, and was named Ātuma. When he was adolescent his mother proposed to find him a wife, and consulted with kinsfolk. But he, being impelled by the fulness of conditions, said 'What have I to do with house ways? Now will I leave the world'. But though he went

¹ See CCX also *Vinaya Texts* 1 136 ff. *And Birth Stories*, p 114 ff

² *Saṅgavita buddha sīmā* : Spiritual growth is from the Commentary. Truth or true meaning = aññā

Now, because he left the world while so young, the Thera was always called Boy (Mānava).¹

LXXIV

Suyāmana

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sālī, as the son of a certain brahmin, he grew up expert in the Three Vedas.² Feeling repelled by domestic life, and inclined to jhāna, he met the Exalted One at Sālī, believed, was ordained, and attained arahantsbip as soon as his head was shaved.

Thereupon he signalized his putting away the hindrances, and confessed aññā in this verse :

With sensuous desires, with enmity,
With sloth of mind and torpor of the flesh
A brother hath no truck, and in his heart
Turmoil of any kind and doubt are dead. (74)

LXXV

Susārada.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāriputta's native place,³ in a brahmin's family, and was called Susārada

¹ One is tempted to see here no individual sharing the experiences of the Buddha, but a *type* of the earnest youthful religious mind gripped by life's realities.

² It is noteworthy that whereas there were in Dhammapāla's day Four Vedas (including the later Atharva-veda), the Buddhist schools of Eastern India—e.g., Conjevaram—either did not know of this increment in brahmin literature, or observed sufficient historical accuracy to associate these original Theras with three Vedas only (see *Dialogues*, i 100, n. 2). Sāla, or Sālap, a brahmin village in Kosala, is twice mentioned as visited by the Buddha in the *Majjhima* (Suttas 41, 62; cf. *Samy.*, v. 144); but Sālī has, so far, not been met with elsewhere.

³ Nālaka-village in Magadha.

(Dullard), because he was slow in growing¹. He was converted by the teaching of that Therian² and in due time, as a bhikkhu, became an arahant, and confessed his sin in this verse

O goodly is the sight of cultured mind!³
 Doubt is cut off and wisdom grows apace
 Learn of a fool thou make an able man
 Hence goodly is the intercourse with saints (75)

LXXVI

Piyañjaha

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Vesālī in the family of a Licchavi noble (rāja). When grown up he was ever mad for war and an unconquered fighter, ever sacrificing what was near and dear, so that he became known as Piyañjaha—Love renouncing. But when the Master came to Vesālī Piyañjaha found faith in him, entered the Order, dwelt in the forest, developed insight and won arahantship. As arahant he thought, 'How different is worldly success from Ariyan success! and by this insight confessing ānā, he uttered this verse

Where men are arrogant see thou be low⁴
 Where they are low in mind, lift up the heart
 Dwell thou where other folk care not to dwell,
 Wherein men find delight, take thou no joy (76)

¹ *Susāra* means 'very autumnal'—i.e., as it were 'having undeveloped seed or growth' and corresponding therefore to early spring time in our climate. Cf. *JPTS* 1909 p. 150 and the contrary, *caraka* below, CCII verse 309.

² It is a detail of interest that on the word *samhita* rendered by 'cultured' (lit., well-disposed, ordered or practised), the Commentary remarks *anumānālopa kato* the terminal *y* has been cut off, *gith*, *sukkhathāy* for prosodical reasons. With line 3 of *Sisters*, verse 213.

³ In the text the inflexion used is the third person³ singular of the older optative in *he* one, *should* be low.

LXXVII

Hattharoha Putta

(Elephant riders Son)

Reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi in the family of an elephant driver, as he grew up he became proficient in managing elephants. One day as he was training an elephant by the river he was impelled by maturing conditions to think 'What is all this elephant taming to me? Better is it to tame one's self. So he went to the Exalted One, heard the Dham, believed, entered the Order, and exercised himself in insight on a basis of ethical meditation. And as a skilful elephant trainer restrains savage ways by his hook, so he by meditation suffered not his thoughts to wander away from his exercise saying this verse:

Once roamed this heart a field a wanderer
Wherever will or whim or pleasure led
To-day that heart I'll hold in thorough check
As trainer's hook the savage elephant.¹ (77)

And so acting his insight expanded and he realized arahantship.

LXXVIII

Mendasira

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Sāketa in the family of a burgess. Because his head resembled that of a ram, he acquired the nickname of Menasira (=ram's head). While the Exalted One was staying at Sāketa in the Añjana Wood, Menasira came to believe in him, entered the Order, and practising calm and insight

¹ This goes to form one verse in the *Itaresaṅgī* ascribed to Tālapuṭṭa (CCII 11 G). Translator's hook is a metaphorical grasper of the hook.

acquired sixfold abhiññā. He could thus recall former births and concerning these he uttered this verse

Full many a round of rebirth have I run
 Nor found a clue¹ Lo' now from me who sore
 Have suffered is the lord of ill withdrawn (78)

And this was his confession of añña

LXXXIV

Rakkhita

Reborn in this Buddha age in the township of Devadaha, in the family of a Sakyan noble (raja), he was named Rakkhita (Guarded). He was one of those five hundred young nobles who, as having renounced the world, were given by the Sakyan and Koliyan rajas as escort to the Exalted One. The latter had converted these youths by the lesson of the Kunala jataka²—a lesson against the danger of sensuality. And connecting this lesson with his exercises, he developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter, reflecting on his own renunciation of the corruptions,³ he uttered his verse confessing añña

All passion have I put away, and all
 Ill will for ever have I rooted out,
 Illusion utterly has passed from me,
 Cool am I now. Gone out all fire within (79)

¹ In the text I found not. Commentary 'Not getting the knowledge how to turn or roll back' (*avattala añ*)—i.e. the unending course of rebirth.

² *Jataka* vol. v No. 536. The introduction relates the giving of the escort.

³ *Kilesa*. See above LXXII n. 1.

LXXX

Ugga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala, at the town of Ugga, as the son of a councillor, he was named Ugga. When he had attained to years of discretion, he went to hear the Master, who had come to that town, found faith in him, entered the Order and finally won arahantship. He thereupon set forth his severance of the round of rebirth, confessing aññā in this verse:

All action wrought by me and bringing birth,
Whether 'twas of great potency or small,
Shattered and ended is it utterly.
Now is there no more coming back to be (80)

PART IX

LXXXI

Sāmitigutta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a brahmin, he was named Sāmitigutta.¹ Hearing the Master preach, he entered the Order and attained entire purity of conduct. As the consequence of his action in a former life, he was attacked by leprosy and his limbs crumbled off piece by piece. He dwelt in the infirmary.² And one day the General of the Norm went on his round of inquiry, asking after this and that sick bhikkhu. Seeing Sāmitigutta, he gave him an exercise on the contemplation

¹ 'Guarded by concord, or by-union'

² He is represented as having said of a Silent Buddha, 'This leprous shaveling is concealing something, methinks,' and spitting, again, as a Wanderer, he loses his temper with a lay adherent, saying, 'May you become a leper!' That Sāvattthī College should include an infirmary (*gīlanasālā*) is interesting, if to be expected. The visitor is Sāriputta. Cf. verses 1054-1058.

of feeling saying 'My friend,' in so far as there is what we call process of the five constituents the whole of suffering is a matter of feeling. But if just the constituents be absent, suffering is absent. So saying, he went on, but the patient, set up by the lesson, developed insight and realized sixfold abhiñña. Thereupon he remembered the evil action in former births for which he was now overcome by disease. And extolling the fact that all was now done with, he uttered this verse

Whatso of evil wrought in bygone days,
In former births by me, just here and now,
Tis that whereby I lie and suffer sore—
But other ground for ill exists no more! (81)

LXXXII

Kassapa

Reborn in this Buddha age at Svattthi, as the son of a brahmin of north western origin,¹ he was named Kassapa. His father died while he was a child and his mother brought him up. When one day he heard the Exalted One preach at the Jeta Grove, he was then and there impelled by maturing conditions to enter the First Path. And going to his mother, he asked her permission for his ordination.

Now when the Master had ended the rainy season with the Parivara festival and was starting on his country tour, Kassapa was anxious to go with him. And first he went to take leave of his mother. She let him go with this admonition

To any place where alms are easy got,
Where'er tis safe and free from peril there
Go thou, my boy, vex not thy life with care (82)

¹ Udicca br h navana. Cf Jit i 321. *Mūlaka* n. 40 n 1

Then the Thera thought 'My mother wants me to go where I shall be free from care. Come then, for me 'tis right to win a place entirely and absolutely free from care.' And, striving, he set up insight and soon won arahantship. Thereupon, inasmuch as his mother's words had been his spur in winning it, he repeated that very verse

LXXXIII

Siha

Reborn in this Buddha age in the country of the Mallas in the family of a raja, he was named Siha (Leo). Seeing the Exalted One, he was attracted by him, saluted him and sat down at one side. The Master discerned the trend of his mind and taught him the Norm, so that he believed, entered the Order, and, taking his exercise, dwelt in the forest. His thoughts were distracted by many objects and he could not concentrate. The Master saw this and, standing over him, uttered this verse:

O Siha! persevere in earnestness,
By night and day abide unfaltering
Engender the good Norm within thy heart
Swiftly renounce that piled up base of birth.² (S)

Hereby the Thera was able to expand insight and win arahantship. And, confessing añña, he repeated the verse

¹ Lit. 'to him one point-ness comes not', the usual psychological term to which we can only approximate in our 'concentration'. Cf. *Cori'en Sam*, pp. 237, 240 f.

² *Samussayo* lit. 'accumulation'. Commentary = 'the passions binding to personal existence. Used for the body or whole living aggregate'. Cf. *Sutras* verse 22.

LXXXIV

Nita

Reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi as the son of a brahmin he was called Nita. When grown up he thought 'These Sakiyan recluses are very lucky in that they are well provided with all necessities. It is a happy life, that of a member of the Order.' So he entered it to get pleasure from it paid scant attention to his exercise ate his fill, spent the day in idle talk, and slept all night long. But the Master discerned the ripeness of his antecedents, and gave him this verse in admonition.

Thou all the night to slumber given o'er
Who lovest the day and chattering crowds to
spend —
Dost deem that thou this way at any time
Poor silly fool of Ill shalt make an end?¹ (84)

Agitated by the Master's words he settled to develop insight and not long after attained arhantship. He then confessed añña in repeating this verse.

LXXXV

Sunaga

He was reborn in this Buddha age in the village of Nalaka as the son of a brahmin, and was a friend of Sariputta before the latter left the world. Hearing the General of the Norm preach, he too left the world, being established on the plane of insight². Anon he won arhantship. Thereupon, in course of teaching the bhikkhus, he confessed añña in this verse.

Expert to grasp the image conjured up³
Versed in the secret of the life detached
Practised in contemplation clear in mind —
Well may he win to rapture unalloyed (85)

¹ *Dummedha dukkhaṃ antaṃ karuṇasanti pi P li C₃*

² *Vassanabhāṇiyan pa'itthito* a divergence from the usual phrases

³ In the self hypnosis of jhāna. See *Compendium* p 54

Then the Thera thought: 'My mother wants me to go where I shall be free from care. Come then, for me 'tis right to win a place entirely and absolutely free from care.' And, striving, he set up in aight and soon won arahantship. Thereupon, inasmuch as his mother's words had been his spur in winning it, he repeated that very verse.

LXXXIII

Siha,

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Mallas, in the family of a rāja, he was named Siha (Leo). Seeing the Exalted One, he was attracted by him, saluted him and sat down at one side. The Master discerned the trend of his mind and taught him the Norm, so that he believed, entered the Order, and, taking his exercise, dwelt in the forest. His thoughts were distracted by many objects and he could not concentrate.¹ The Master saw this and, standing over him, uttered this verse:

O Siha! persevere in earnestness;
By night and day abide unfaltering.
Engender the good Norm within thy heart.
Swiftly renounce that piled up base of birth.² (83)

Hereby the Thera was able to expand insight and win arahantship. And, confessing aññā, he repeated the verse

¹ Lit, 'to him one-point-ness comes not'; the usual psychological term, to which we can only approximate in our 'concentration'. Cf. *Compendium*, pp 237, 240 f

² *Samussayo*, lit, 'accumulation.' Commentary = 'the passions binding to personal existence' Used for the body, or whole living aggregate Cf. *Sisters*, verse 22

LXXX

Nita

Reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi as the son of a brahmin he was called Nita. When grown up he thought 'These Sakyan recluses are very lucky in that they are well provided with all necessities. It is a happy life, that of a member of the Order. So he entered it to get pleasure from it paid scant attention to his exercise and his fill spent the day in idle talk, and slept all night long. But the Master discerned the ripeness of his antecedents and gave him this verse in admonition.

Thou all the night to slumber given o'er,
Who lovest the day and chattering crowds to
spend --
Dost deem that thou this way at any time
Poor silly fool of ill shalt make an end?¹ (81)

Agitated by the Master's words he settled to develop insight and not long after attained arahantship. He then confessed anur in repeating this verse.

LXXXV

Sunaga

He was reborn in this Buddha age in the village of Nalaka as the son of a brahmin, and was a friend of Sariputta before the latter left the world. Hearing the General of the Norm preach, he too left the world being established on the plane of insight.² Anon he won arahantship. Thereupon in course of teaching the bhikkhus he confessed añña in this verse.

Expert to grasp the image conjured up,³
Versed in the secret of the life detached,
Practised in contemplation clear in mind --
Well may he win to rapture unalloyed. (82)

¹ *D im nedha dukkhaṃ antaṃ karissas ti pa P h C₃*

² *Dassanabhāṣyaṃ pa itthiṃ a divergence from the usual phrases*

³ In the self hypnosis of jhāna. See *Conpendium* p. 54

LXXXVI

Nagita

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sakyan raja and named Nagita. When the Exalted One was staying in that place he preached the Lump of Sweetness discourse¹. Thereby Nagita was induced to enter the Order whereupon he attained arahantship. Then, thrilled with rapture over the truth of the Master's teaching and the effective guidance of the Norm he burst out in this psalm.

Outside our Order many others be who teach
A path never like this one to Nibbana leading
But us the Exalted One the blessed Master's self
Instructs as twere by just the palm o' th hand out
spreading² (86)

LXXXVII

Pavitt̥ha

Reborn in this Buddha age in the Kingdom of Magadha in a brahmin's family, and being naturally inclined to the life of a recluse he became a Wanderer. His training ended he wandered forth and heard of Upatissa and Kolita (= Sariputta and Moggallana) joining the Buddha's Order. And he thought: That methinks must be a

¹ *Mayhima Nikaya* 16th Sutta outlined (at Kapilavatthu) by the Master and expounded by Maha Kaccana (see Ps CXXXIX) on the self-mastery of the arahant. This is apparently not the bhikkhu of the Kassapa clan (*Dialogues* 1: 193 ff. Ang iii 31 341 iv 341). Perhaps the latter was known as N. Kassapa to distinguish.

² The Commentary has: Our Master *sa-jay* — that is *sa-janā* : *ñ nenañ taṃ* self-taught knower by knowledge or himself — urged by great compass on teaches his own doctrine like one who to make sport (? *etāṃ sapattisā*) shows *amalaṅka* seed in the palm of his hand. Is an ancient game like *morra* alluded to?

better Order since such great sages enter it And he went and heard the Master, believed, and was ordained Soon after he realized arahantship, and thus confessed añña

The factors of the self are thoroughly seen,
All bases of new being broken down
Slain utterly the cycle of rebirth
Now is there no more coming back to be ¹ (87)

LXXXVIII

Ajjuna.

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi, in the family of a councillor, and named Ajjuna When grown up he came into contact with the Jains, and entered their Order very young, thinking among them to win salvation ² But finding there nothing to satisfy him,³ he met the Master, believed, entered his Order and anon won arahantship Then in rapture at his attainment, he burst forth in this verse

O wonder that I found the power to draw
Myself forth from the waters on dry land
Borne drifting on the awful flood I learnt
To know the Truths, their truth to understand (88)

LXXXIX

Devasabha.⁴

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the raja of a district,⁵ he succeeded to his title when quite young But

¹ Cf LXVII

² Lit Ambrosia Amata or Nibbāna

³ Lit not with or beside; like Jain's metaphor for no truth or genuineness.

⁴ Ps C is by another Devasabha

⁵ *Maṇḍalika-rāja* This term occurs in *Jaina Texts* 1: 47 I have no evidence of the comparative rank attaching to the title

when being awakened (*buddho*) he went to hear the Master teach, he resigned his title, entered the Order, and anon won arahantship. Then joy arose in him when he reflected on the corrupting things he had put away, and he burst forth in this psalm

Transcended is the miry bog of lusts
Past doom infernal am I safely come
From flood and fetter dire to liberty,
And shed is every form of self conceit.¹ (89)

XC

Samidatta

Reborn in this Buddha age at Rājagaha as the son of a brahmin, he was called Samidatta. When arrived at years of discretion, he heard of the Buddha's puissance, and went with laymen to the Vibhara to hear him. He believed and entered the Order, but from the immaturity of his knowledge he continued for a little while without application. Finally, on again hearing the Master teach, he became devoted and intent, and won arahantship.

Later on the bhikkhus asked him "How now, friend, have you reached the state of the elect?" And he, showing the guiding efficacy of the doctrine, and his own attainment in the Norm and minor doctrines (*dhammānudhammā*), confessed aññā in this verse

The factors of my life well understood
Stand yet a little while with severed root
Shun is the round of living life renewed
Now is there no more coming back to be.² (90)

¹ *Māra*. Nine forms are distinguished (*Vibh.*, p. 389). Cf. *Buḍḍi Paṇḍita*, p. 293 which gives the first three only.

² *Uttari manussadhammā* or, of the 'supermen'

³ Cf. LXXX and LXXXVII

PART A

XCI

Paripunnaka.

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sakyan raja. And because of the completeness of his gifts and fortune he became known as Paripunnaka.¹ His means allowed him to enjoy at all times food of a hundred essences. But he hearing that the Master par took of mixed scraps said 'Though he be delicately bred, the Exalted One lives thus, contemplating the bliss of Nibbana. Why should we in our greed become epicures? Let us too, seek for that bliss of Nibbana! Thus agitated he renounced his home, entered the Order, and, taking his exercise of meditation on the body from the Exalted One, he in due course attained arahantship. Thereupon he burst forth into this psalm.²

Never as t were some dish of hundred essences
 Could I ocrite what I putook to day,
 When He, the all seeing Gotama,³ the Buddha blest,
 Himself revealed to me the holy Norm (91)

XCII

Vijaya

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Swatthi, in a brahmin's family and named Vijaya. When he had learnt the brahmin wisdom he left the world as an ascetic,

¹ Meaning 'fulfilled or perfected with *ka* agent noun affix

² The metre is here not that of the usual sloka

³ Note the frank but infrequent mention of the Master's name a usage not countenanced by later Buddhists. In this work it occurs eight times in the *Sisters* twice (cf *Vinaya Texts* i 228). Of the corresponding reticence among many Episcopalian Christians

and dwelt in the forest practising jhāna. Then he heard of the Buddha's mission and was glad, and went to salute and hear him. Thereupon he entered the Order and soon won arahantship, confessing aññā in this verse:

In whom the intoxicants are dried up;
Whose happiness dependeth not on food;
Whose range is in the Void and the Unmarked
And Liberty:—as flight of birds in air
So hard is it to track the trail of him.¹ (92)

XCIII

Eraka.

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Sāvattthi, as the son of an eminent person, and was named Eraka.² He had beauty and charm, so that in all that he had to do he was in the most highly favoured position for doing it. His parents wedded him to a maiden suitable for beauty, virtue, years, and accomplishments. But anon, because it was his final life, he grew agitated at continued being, and sought

¹ Intoxicants = *usadā* (see Ps. XLVII). Food (*āhāro*), represents all the four necessities provided by the laity (food, clothing, lodging, medicine). Commentary 'Liberty' represents the Third Sign of 'Freedom from Hankerings,' or Content. As an arahant, his mind dwells only on ideas and desires void of, and unmarked by, the three features—Ill, Impermanence, Soul delusion. By 'trail' (*padan*) is meant destiny—namely, rebirth. Part of this gāthā, and approximately the same Commentary, occur in *Dhammapada*, verse 92 (Commentary, ii 171-173), ascribed to the Master when addressing *Devalāsi* (cf. Ps XVI). The Commentary cited enumerates all forms of rebirth; *Dhammapāla* gives only 'destiny' in purgatory, and the rest. Both say only, it is as impossible to declare what is his destiny, as to say where, or how, birds will alight.

² *Eraka* seems to have been a kind of plant, perhaps a grass, woven into blankets or mats (*Pinaya Texts*, ii 83, n. 3, *Jātaka*, iii 91, *Sisters*, lxx. 435). A town is called Eraka grass in *Maṅgla*, i 87 = *Māhinda*, i. 276. Cf. also *Dhp. Com.*, iii. 231.

the Master. After hearing him teach the Noim, Eraka left the world. And the Master gave him an exercise, but for some days he remained mastered by evil thoughts. Then the Master, knowing the course of his thoughts, admonished him in a verse. And he, on hearing it thought 'Unfitly have I acted, I, fool, that I should have continued full of bad thoughts when learning from such a Master'. And in distress he devoted himself to gaining insight, and soon won arahantship. Thereupon he confessed añña by repeating that verse.

Woeful are worldly wishes Eraka!
 No weal in worldly wishes, Eraka!
 Whoso desireth joys of sense desireth ill
 Whoso desires not joys of sense desires no ill¹ (97)

XIV

Mettaji

Reborn in this Buddha age in the kingdom of Magadha as the son of a brahmin, he was named Mettaji². Grown up, he saw the evil of worldly desire, and became an ascetic dwelling in the forest. Hearing of the Buddha's advent and impelled by antecedent causes he sought the Master and asked him concerning his progress and regress. The answer given convinced him that he should enter the Order,

¹ The austere jejune simplicity of this gīthā is not poetic and is closely followed in the translation. *Ama* (worldly wishes, joys of sense) is not easy to equate. Buddhism defines this plane of life and animal life and the lower heavens too as all sphere of Kāma. 'Unregenerate desire is perhaps the nearest rendering. 'Desire alone is not correct' for there is the *akāma-sikkhā* or desire for higher things also characterizing life on the *āmitarāga* plane. Dr Neumann has *Lust* our word *lust* is degraded by specialization. Pleasure should not be so degraded for there is pleasure (*sukha*) not entailing woe.

² Conqueror by affection.

whereupon he won arahantship. And in this verse he extolled the Master

All glory to the Exalted One,
Our splendid Lord, the Sakya's son!
For he the topmost height hath won,
And well the Norm supreme hath shown (94)

XCIV

Cakkhupala.

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Sivattthi, as the son of a landed proprietor named Mahasuvanna, and received the name of Pala.¹ He was also called Pala major, because his younger brother was called Pala minor. And the parents bound the sons in domestic bonds. But the Master came to the Jeta Grove, and there Pala major heard him, and leaving his brother to manage the property entered the Order. After five years of novitiate he went with sixty bhikkhus to perfect his studies. And they chose a woodland spot near a border village, where the villagers were lay followers, and he, dwelling in a leaf hut, practised the duties of a recluse.

He was attacked by ophthalmia, and a doctor prescribed for him. But he did not follow the advice, and the disease grew worse. 'Better,' he thought, 'is the allaying of the moral torments (*āilesā*) than that of eye disease. Thus he neglected the latter and worked at his insight, so that eyes and torments perished at the same time. And he became a 'dry visioned' arahant.²

Now the village patrons asked the bhikkhus what had become of the Thera, and, hearing of his blindness, they

¹ The full name means Eye guardian the father's Great golden. The story is given in somewhat ampler detail and slightly varied diction in the *Dhammapala Commentary* on the opening verses of that anthology. Pronounced Chakkhu.

² See *Compendium* : p. 75

ministered to his wants full of compunction. Then those bhikkhus having also won arahantship, they proposed that they should return to Savatthi to salute the Master, but the Thera said 'I am weak and blind and the journey is not without risk. I should hinder you. Do ye go first and salute for me the Master and the great Theras and all Pāṭaliyā minor of my state that he may send a servant to me. At length they consented to go after taking leave of their patrons and providing him with a lodging. And they carried out his bidding, and Pāṭaliyā minor sent his nephew Pālita. And the bhikkhus ordained Pālita because the road was not safe for a solitary layman. He went and announced himself to the Thera, and sat out with him. Midway near a village in the forest a woodcutter's wife was singing. And the novice was smitten by the sound, and bidding his uncle wait, went and dallied with her. The Thera thought 'Now I heard a woman singing, and my novice strays long. Is he not evilly employed?' The youth returned, saying 'Let us go, sir.' And the Thera said 'What! hast thou been vile?' The novice at length confessed and the Thera said 'One so evil shall hold no staff for me. Get thee hence!' 'But the way is perilous and you are blind. How will you go?' 'Fool! even if I lie down and die, yet will I get on but not with such as thee.' Then he uttered this verse

All blind am I and perished are mine eyes
And through the jungle's wilderness I fare
Een then I'll go, and were it lying down,
But not with child of evil as my mate (D.)

Then the other, conscious of his evil action weeping with outstretched arms plunged into the forest. But the efficacy of the Thera's virtue made Sakka's throne hot and the god, in the shape of a man journeying to Savatthi took his staff and brought him that evening to Savatthi to the Jeta Grove. And Pālita minor ministered to him all his days.

XCVI

Khaṇḍasumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Pāvā in the family of a Māllarāja,¹ he was named Khaṇḍasumana (Jasmine), because on his birthday the jasmine was in bloom.² He heard the Exalted One while the latter was staying in Cunda's mango grove at Pāvā,³ entered the Order, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he remembered his own former births: how he had offered a plant of jasmine at the toe of Kassapa Buddha when all the plucked flowers went to form the king's own offering; and, discerning how this act had guided him to Nibbāna now, he said this verse:

One flower in pious offering brought
Did win me years on years of pleasant life
In heavenly worlds; the balance hath availed
To bring me perfect peace and purity⁴ (90)

XCVII

Tissa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Roguva in a rāja's family, at his father's death he succeeded to the title. As an absent ally of King Bumbisāra, he sent him presents of jewels, pearls, and robes. The king sent him in return the life of the Buddha on a painted panel, and the Conditioned Genesis on a gold plate specially inscribed⁵

¹ See p. 10, π 3

² *Sumāna* is jasmine; *Khaṇḍa* is broken, fragmentary. The jasmine is called *khaṇḍa-sakkāra*, broken sugar.

³ See *Dialogues*, n. 137. Pronounced Chunda.

⁴ Lat., 'by the remainder am I nibbuto'—i.e., 'I have *parinibbāna* of the kilesa's,' entire going out or quelling away of the ten kinds of moral corruption or torment. See above, LXXII., π.

⁵ Early historians were not over-careful in the matter of attributing civilization of their own day to an earlier age, nevertheless, writing

When he saw these, because he had resolved under former Buddhas and because it was his last birth, he pondered on going forward and turning back, setting the order of the doctrine in his heart and growing uneasy till he came to this conclusion: 'Now have I seen the likeness of the Exalted One, and have learnt the order of his doctrine at the same time. Full of ill are worldly desires. What have I to do with the life in houses?' And he abdicated, entered the Order, and, taking his earthen bowl and followed, as was Prince Pukkusāti,¹ by a lamenting populace, he left the town and went to Rujagaha. There he dwelt in the Sabbasondika Cave, and visited the Exalted One. And learning of him, he won arahantship. Thereupon alluding to his experiences, he uttered this psalm

Renouncing costly vessels wrought in bronze,
In gold and lac, I grasped this earthen bowl
The second time was I anointed then (97)

was certainly known in India in early Buddhist days, even though the use of it might (through lack of suitable book material) be limited to the brief contents of tablets. As to the contents written, the historical critic should bear in mind that a ministry, growing in public esteem and success for forty years, may well have seen its founder's life and leading doctrines written and circulated, even without the printing press.

¹ Tissa's story is, indeed, so like a brief résumé of the full and pleasant chronicle of the friendship between Pukkusāti, king of Takhasilā and Bimbisāra, recorded by Buddhaghosa in the Commentary on *Majjh*, in 237 ff., that it seems not unlikely the two accounts bifurcated out of one. Pukkusāti was gored by a fierce cow on the eve of his entering the Order, and so is not inscribed among the Theras. Bimbisāra's gifts differ a little in either story. To Pukkusāti he sent a description of the 'Three Gems'—Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha—and on the gold plate he had inscribed various tenets, Satipatthānas, Eightfold Path, thirty-seven Wisdom Factors, just as the *Paṭisambodhi* saṃudda. There is no commoner name in Indian literature than Tissa, but this ex-king of Rōguva is not identifiable with any other of the known Tissas. The verse recurs in Ps. CCLIV.

XCVIII

Abhaya (2)

Reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi in a brahmin family, he was called Abhaya. After he had heard the Master teach and had entered the Order, he went one day for alms into the village,¹ and saw a woman attractively dressed. This disturbed his mental composure, so that he returned to the Vihara thinking 'Looking on a visible object has corrupted me. I have done amiss. Thus repudiating that consciousness be so developed insight as to win arahantship.

Thereupon he reviewed his moral slip and his recovery in this verse

Sight of fair shape bewildering self control,²
If one but heed the image sweet and dem,
The heart inflamed in feeling doth overflow
And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
The deadly taints³ that bring new living near (DS)

XCIX

Uttiya

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sakyan raja he was named Uttiya.⁴ Come to years of discretion, he witnessed the power of the Buddha when the latter came to visit his kin.⁵ He believed in him and entered the Order. As a student he visited the village one day for alms, and on the way he heard a woman singing and his concentration gave way, desire and passion arising in him. Checking himself by the power of reflection, he

¹ So in XCIX. and XCVI. This is clearly not the Abhaya of XCVI.

² *Sati* = mindfulness heedfulness control of thought.

³ *Isat* ? Cf. verses 794 ff. *Sang* ix. 78.

⁴ The Commentary (Br.) has both Uttiya and Uttariya.

⁵ See above LXIII.

entered the Vihāra much agitated, and seating himself for śīla-meditation, he so developed insight that he won arahantship. Thereupon he mentioned his release from the ill of rebirth, through disgust at the corruptions, in this verse

Sound of sweet voice bewildering self-control,
If one but think upon the image dear,
The heart inflamed in feeling doth overflow
And clanging staveth. Thus in him do grow
The deadly taints that bring Saṃsāra¹ near. (99)

C

Devasabha (2)²

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākya³ raja, he was named Devasabha. When grown up he believed when he saw the Master appeasing the quarrel between Sākya³s and Koliya⁴s, and was established in the *Reluges*. Again, he went when the Master was staying at the *Banyan Park*, thus time entering the Order. He won arahantship, and dwelling on the bliss of his emancipation, he burst forth in rapture with this psalm

Whoso supreme endeavour doth put forth,
Whose range is in the fourfold heedfulness,⁴
He with fair flowers of Liberty entwined,
Sane and unshorn, will reach the perfect peace.⁵ (100)

Thus the Thera confessed añña

PART XI

CĪ

Belatṭhakani.

REBORN in this Buddha age at Savatthi in a brahmin's family, he was named Belatṭhakani. When after hearing the Master teach he had entered the Order, and was practising calm and insight in a forest of Kosala, he grew very slothful and was also rough of speech. Hence he did not evoke the right state of mind for his exercises. Now the Exalted One considered his maturing insight, and stirred his heart by this admonitory verse

Though layman's life be left, yet if the task
Remain undone, the mouth haish furrows plough,
The paunch be full, the mind all slack with sloth —
Like a great hog with provender replete,
He cometh back, again, again to birth¹ (101)

Then he, seeing the Master as if seated before him, was thrilled with agitation at his discourse, and establishing insight, was not long in winning arahantship. And through the divers expressions of the psalm, he declared his añña.

CII

Setuccha

Reborn in this Buddha age as the son of the raja of a district² he was unable to maintain his country's independence, and lost his throne. Wandering about the land unhappy, he saw and heard the Exalted One, entered the

¹ See XVII² *Maṇḍala-raja* See p 83 n 5

Order, and won arahantship And intrenching in his psalm
against worldliness, he thus in diverse ways confessed añña

By vain conceits deluded and their minds
Corrupted by the varied things of sense
I lashed by their gains by dearth thereof upset
They fail to win the concentrated mind (102)

III

Bandhura

Reborn in this Buddha age at the town of Silavatī¹ as
the son of a councillor, he was named Bandhura² And
going one day on some business to Savatthi, he went with
the lady to the Vihāra, heard the Master, believed and
entered the Order, and in due time won arahantship Now
to render service to his rāja and so show his gratitude for
his success, he went to Silavatī and preached the Norm to
the rāja, declaring to him the Four Truths The rāja
became a convert built a great Vihāra in the township,
calling it Sudassana and bestowed it on the Thera with
many honours and offerings The latter handed over
everything to the Order, and going on his rounds as before,
conceived the wish to go to Savatthi The bhikkhus said
'Sir, stay with us If you lack in what you require, we
will make it good He replied 'I have no need, friends,
of anything out of the way, I keep going on anything I
get I am content with the savour of the Norm,' and
uttered this psalm

Nay, tis not thus I need who live in bliss,
Regaled by sweetest nectar of the Norm
Drinking those drops peerless, supreme, shall I
Forsooth my tongue with poison now acquaint? (103)

¹ A town of the Sākyas (*Srey.* i. 117 ff)

² The Burmese Commentary calls him Bandhana and bandhaya.
One Singhalese MS calls him Sandhava.

CIV

Khutaka

Reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi in a brahmin's family, he heard, when grown up, of the great supernormal powers of Moggallāna the Great¹ And he thought I, too, will become so gifted And impelled by prior causes he entered the Order under the Exalted One, and by exercising himself in the training for calm and insight, acquired in due course sixfold abhūtiā. Then he, enjoying the various forms of supernormal movement, continued to bestow favour on beings by the wonder of those acts and by the wonder of training.² When the bhikkhus asked him 'Khutaka friend do you employ supernormal power? he uttered this verse

Buoyant in sooth my body every pulse
 Throbbing in wondrous bliss and ecstasy
 Even as cotton down blown on the breeze
 So floats and hovers this my body light (104)

CV

Maṭṭavambha.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the town of Kurukaccha as a brahmin's son, he was converted by the preaching of Paṇḍita the great Thera³ and entered the Order. Working at exercises for insight, he abode in any place where of the four necessities of life⁴ only suitable food was hard to get, but where such food was easily got and

¹ Cf. Moggallāna's poem CCLXIII.

² These are the first and third of the three sorts of wonders which the Buddha claimed to know (*Dialogues* I 277 of 88). The second was the wonder of manifestation — i.e., thought reading.

³ A name not met with elsewhere. The episode may be of later date. The name itself — i.e. Epigonus — is possibly significant.

⁴ The four necessities (*paccayā*) for a bhikkhu were food, raiment, lodging and medicine. Not too little ease nor too much comfort for the holy life is the maxim. The subject as Dr. Neumann reminds us is expanded in *M. Jh.* 14th Sutta.

the rest difficult to find, he went away. So continuing, because he had the antecedents, and was of the nature of the Great Men,¹ he expanded insight, and in due course became an arahant. Thereupon, reflecting on his attainment, he broke forth in this verse

Where I am straitened let me never dwell;
 Let me go thence, if life too pleasant prove
 Ne'er will the man with eyes to see abide
 Where aught may hinder in the quest supreme (105)

CVI

Subemanta.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the Border country as the son of a wealthy brahmin he went to hear the Ialted One teach the Norm in the deer park at the town of Sankassa.² Leaving the world he joined the Order, and became a reciter of the Three Pitakas,³ becoming in due course possessor of sixfold abhiñña. Thereupon he thought 'I have won all that a disciple may win. What if I were now to do a service to the brethren?' So he lectured to them and solved their difficulties. And one day he addressed them and other intelligent persons concerning himself in this verse

A hundred tokens show, a hundred marks
 Betray where in the hidden meaning lies
 Whoso hath eyes to see but one, a dullard is
 Who can discern the hundred he is wise (106)

Thus the Thera magnified before the Brethren his attainment of analytic knowledge that was so excellent

¹ *Mahāpurisaṃ itthāpiya*. This is the only instance where this expression occurs. I do not see the special bearing of it in *Mattavambha* as a case. A Great Man was either a Buddha or a great emperor.

² *Iti tassa ābhayaṃ sākāraṃ*. *Quest. on 'Sakāra' (Sakāra)*

³ Mentioned by Fa Hien as a thriving Buddhist centre. The name exists to this day the village being 4 miles north east of Kanji (Legg's *Travels of Fa Hien* 1886). Cf. LXV, n. 2.

⁴ *Itthāpiya* Cf.

— On previous page n. 4 read 17. Sutta

CVII

Dhammasava

Reborn in the kingdom of Magadha in a brahmin's family, and impelled by maturity of conditions, he preferred the religious to the household life. Seeking the Exalted One on the South Hill,¹ he heard him teach the Norm, whereupon he entered the Order, and in due course became an arahant. And reflecting with joy upon his career, he brot's forth in this psalm, confessing añña

I pondered well, then sought the life that lay
Beyond the walls and bonds of household life
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.² (107)

CVIII

Dhammasava's Father.

He followed his son's example, saying: 'My son left the world when he was young, why should not I leave it? So he, too, sought the Master, and in due course realized arahantship and uttered his psalm.'

A hundred years was I and eke a score,
When forth I went and knew my home no more
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (108)

CIX

Sangha Rakkhita²

Reborn in this Buddha age in a wealthy family at Savatthi, he found faith, and entering the Order took an exercise and joined another bhikkhu, both dwelling in the forest. Not far from where they abode, a doe in the thicket had

¹ Dakkhiṇagiri (Sangha's Texts i 26, p. 2)

² I, XXIV

³ Guarded by the Order

given birth to a fawn. Tenling it her love kept her from going far from it and lacking grass and water close by she was famished. Seeing her the Thera said 'Ah surely this world bound in the bonds of craving suffers sore, unable to cut them! And taking this feeling as a goad, he developed insight and won arahantship. There upon discerning that his companion was cherishing many wrong thoughts he admonished him through the parable of the doe and uttered this verse

Not yet doth he though in retreat he dwell
 Conquer the system by that Blest One (planned)
 Who showed compassion for our highest good
 Still are his powers relaxed and uncontrolled
 Like woodland doe all tender grown and weak.¹ (107)

Now hearing these words that Thukku grew agitated, and expanding insight in due course won arahantship.

CX

Usabha

Reborn in this Buddha age in a wealthy family in the kingdom of Kosala, he found faith in the Master when the latter accepted the gift of the Jeta Grove. Finishing his novitiate he dwelt in the forest at the foot of the mountain. Now at the time of the rains the clouds had emptied themselves in the crests of the hills and trees, bushes and creepers became filled with dense foliage. Then the Thera, going forth one day from his cave saw the loveliness of the woods and the mountains, and considered seriously 'These trees and creepers are unconscious yet by the season's fulfilment they have won growth. Why should not

¹ This stanza is a notable example among others of the extraordinary difficulty attending translation in the absence of the Commentary. Lack of the simplest narrative has landed Dr. Neumann in a very different interpretation with a strained use of the word *pathetia* (Pāli: *asayra* (Commentary) Cf. *Milinda Pan* 2.

I who have attained a suitable season win growth in good qualities? ¹ And he uttered this verse which became his confession of arahi for he forthwith strove and won arahantship

The trees on high by towering cloud refreshed
With the new rain break forth in verdant growth
To Usabhi who for detachment long
And hath the forest sense of things doth earn
[From this responsive spring] abundant good (110)

PART VII

CXI

Jenta

He was reborn in this Buddha age in the kingdom of Magadha at the village of Jenta as the son of the raja of a district ² While still young his mind impelled by maturity of conditions inclined to leaving the world and he turned the matter over and wondered what he should do. So doubting he heard the Master preach. From that day he became devoted to the religious life and entered the Order. Happily working and with swift insight he realized arahantship then reflecting on his attainment and how he had been perplexed he joyously uttered this verse

Hard is the life without the world and hard
In sooth to bear house life. Deep is the Norm
Hard too is wealth to win. Thus difficult
The choice of one or other how to live
Behoves me hence unceasingly in mind
[And see in everything] IMPERMANENCE (111)

¹ Cf. I eble's autumnal pendant to this mood
Yet stay a while and see the eal-leaves float
Each to its rest beneath their parent's ale etc

² — araṇṇasaṇṇo

³ Maṇḍal-karajassā Cf. p. 83 n. 3

CXII

Vacchagotta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a wealthy brahmin, and because there were four Theras named Vaccha, he was called Vacchagotta.¹ Come to years of discretion, and expert in brahmin learning, he, as a seeker after emancipation, found no pith in those studies, and became a wandering recluse. As such he met and questioned the Master. Satisfied with the answers, he entered the Order, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.² Reflecting with joy upon his career, he uttered this psalm:

The Threefold Lore is mine, and I excel
In Jhāna-ecstasy, adept in calm
Of balanced mind. Salvation have I won,
And all the Buddha-ordinance is done. (112).

CXIII

Vanavaccha (2).

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a wealthy brahmin at Rājagaha and named Vaccha, he found faith when King Bimbisara conferred with the Master. And entering the Order he attained arahantship. As arahant he dwelt in the woods devoted to detachment; hence he came to be called Woodland Vaccha (Vanavaccha). Now it happened that the Thera, in order to do a kindness to his kinsfolk, went to Rājagaha, and dwelt there a little

¹ The others were called, one, *Plumla-Vaccha* (IX.) and two, *Vana-Vaccha* (XIV. and CXIII.)

² The two conversations occur in *Majjh.*, I., 72nd and 73rd Suttas. Vacchagotta's ordination is also mentioned, and how the Buddha tells him to proceed to the study of Calm and Insight, whereby sixfold abhiññā might be acquired. Cf. *Compendium*, part II.

space, telling them of his mode of life. They begged him, saying: 'Sir, do us the kindness of dwelling in the near Vihāra, and we will wait upon you.' The Thera showed them in this verse both his love of the mountains and the life of detachment:

Crag^s where clear waters lie, a rocky world,
 Haunted by black-faced apes and timid deer,
 Where 'neath bright blossoms run the silver streams: ¹
 Those are the highlands of my heart's delight.² (113)

This verse became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CXIV

Adhimutta.²

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family at Sāvattī and named Adhimutta, he became discontented at finding no pith in the brahmin wisdom, and while he was seeking to escape during his last span of life, he saw the majesty of the Buddha at the presentation of the Jeta Grove. Entering the Order, he in due course won arahantship. Thereupon he admonished those bhikkhus dwelling with him who were very corpulent, in this verse:

If ye to this gross body give such heed,
 Greedy its pleasures to enjoy, the while
 Life's energies do ebb away, O whence
 Shall come perfection in the holy life? (114)

¹ The only bond between the two Vacchas seems to be their common brahmin stock and their love of nature. The poem goes to make up those ascribed to Sāmbhaca and Kassapa the Great (CCXI, CCLXI). Cf. also that by the Kapilavatthu Vaccha of the Woods (XIII). It is doubtful whether the two legends do not derive from an identical source. But cf. CXII.

² Cf. CCXLVIII, also ascribed to an Adhimutta of Sāvattī.

CXX

Mahanāma

Reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi in a brahmin family and named Mahanāma¹ he heard the Exalted One teaching the Norm, and gaining faith entered the Order. Taking an exercise, he dwelt on the hill called Nesudaka. Unable to prevent the rising up of evil thoughts and desires, he exclaimed 'Of what worth is life to me with this corrupted mind? And disgusted with himself he climbed a steep crag of the mountain, and made as if he would throw himself down saying 'I will kill him, speaking to himself as to another and uttering this verse

Lo thou' how to a wretched end art come
By this steep crag this famous Hunter's Hill
Its many crests begirt by sāl tree wood-
[And all its glens with tangled verdure] clothed' (115)

In the act of upbraiding himself thus, the Thera evoked insight and won arahantship. And this verse became his confession of añña.

CXXI

Parapariya

Reborn in this Buddha age in a brahmin family at Rajagaha he became proficient in the three Vedas. And being of the Parapam clan he was called the Parapariyan,

¹ Another instance where the Chronicle makes clear lines otherwise inexplicable. There is no hint given that this Thera (whose name means Great Name) is identical with Mahā Nāma the Sakiyan one of the Buddha's first (lay) converts or with the Lacchavi of *Ang* III 76. The hill in question has not been met with in other books as yet but judging from the Commentary it seems to have been a most charming resort well supplied with shade water and medicinal herbs. With his desperate mood of *Vakkali* (CCV) *Sappadāsa* (CCXV) and *Sihā* (*Sisters*, Pp. xi)

and taught mantras¹. He saw the wisdom and majesty of the Master at the Rajagaha Conference and entered the Order, in due course winning arahantship. Reflecting on his career, he broke forth in joy with this psalm

Avoiding truck with contact & sixfold field
Guarding the gates of sense master of self
The general root of misery vomiting
From every poison taint am I immune (116)

This verse became his confession of attainment

CXXII

Yasa

Reborn in this time of our Exalted One as the son of a very wealthy councillor at Benares he was exceedingly delicately nurtured and had three mansions for the different seasons all of which is told in the Khandaka². Impelled by antecedent conditions he saw one night the indecorum in his sleeping attendants and greatly distressed put on his gold slippers and left both house and town gods opening the doors for him. So he went towards Isipatana exclaiming 'Alas! what distress! Alas! what danger!'. Now at that hour the Exalted One who was staying at Isipatana in order to do him kindness was walking to and fro out of doors and said 'Come Yasa here is there neither distress nor danger'. Yasa filled with joy put off his slippers and sat down beside the Exalted One. The Master talked to him by a graduated discourse and when he had finished teaching the Truths Yasa became a convert. And while the Exalted One taught the Truths to his father who had come to seek him Yasa realized arahantship.

Then the Exalted One held out his right arm to Yasa saying COME BHIKSHU! And at his merely saying the words Yasa's hair was shorn two fingers length and he

¹ cf CCXLIX CCLVII

² *Janaṇa Texts* : 10² ff

was equipped with the eight necessities¹ Reflecting on his career, he rejoiced over those words calling him to his present state, 'Come, bhikkhu'² and uttered this psalm

With perfumed skin and delicately clad
And head ablaze with gems, nonetheless my way
I found and made the Threefold Lore my own,³
And now the Buddha ordinance is done (117)

CXVIII

Kimbila

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sakyan raja and named Kimbila,⁴ he inherited immense wealth The Master saw the maturity of his insight while staying at Anupiya, and in order to arouse him, conjured up a beautiful woman in her prime, and showed her to him passing to old age Then Kimbila greatly shaken uttered this verse

As bidden by some power age o'er her falls
Her shape is as another yet the same
Now this my self, who ne'er have left my self,
Seems other than the self I recollect (118)

¹ It is a mythical elaboration of the older tale in the *Uraja*. In the Order the learner or pupil had to remove his shoes when waiting on his teacher (*ibid.* i 66 (62) 151)

² Cf Bhadda's joy at these words a special honour to a candidate (*Sisters* Ps xlv; also CCXXVI below and others)

³ The point lies in his swift attainment, as a layman

⁴ Also spelt (Br) Kimila and Kumanala He was converted, with five other young Sakyan nobles in the first week of the Buddha's mission according to the *Vinaya* narrative There the method adopted for his conversion is not given Kimbila is represented in the *Majjhima* as maintaining his early friendship with the senior Thera Anuruddha dwelling with him and a third Nandiya (Ps XXX) now in this wood or park now in that (*Uraja Texts* ii 509, iii 223 *Majj*, i 20, iii 155 see also CCXXVIII) Anupiya was a town in the Mallarepublic, *Vinaya Texts*, iii 224)

He thus, considering the fact of impermanence was yet more strongly agitated and going to the Master heard the Norm, believed, entered the Order, and in due course won arahaniship. Thereupon he emphasized how he had formerly looked on things as permanent by repeating the verse, thereby confessing aññā

CXX

Vajji-putta (2)

(The Vajjian)

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Licchavi raja at Vesali, he became known as the Vajjian's son, because his father was one of the Vajjians.¹ While yet a youth and engaged in training elephants he inclined by fulness of cause to seek Release, went to the Vihara at the hour when the Master was to preach, and having heard entered the Order, and in due course acquired sixfold abhinñā.

At a later time, shortly after the Master had passed away, Vajjiputta formed an agreement with the chief Theras to preserve the Dhamma intact, and travelled with them from place to place. One day he saw the Venerable Ānanda, who was still a student only, surrounded by a large congregation, teaching them the Norm. And to call forth endeavour in him to reach the higher Paths, he uttered this verse

Come thou and plunge in leafy lair of trees,
Suffer Nibbana in thy heart to sink.²
Stndy and dally not, thou Gotamud!
What doth this single fangle mean to thee?³ (119)

¹ This is apparently not the Vajjiputta of LXII, who was not of noble rank.

² For this late attainment of the goal by Ānanda the Buddha's chief attendant see *Veruṅga Texts* in 373. The verse occurs also in *Saṃy* 1: 199 where woodland sprites note Ānanda's preoccupation with worldly interests—a tendency that was entirely amiable in itself and

Hearing this and speech of others, dispelling poisonous odours, Ānanda grew agitated, and most of the night walked to and fro meditating. Then, with insight worked up, he entered his dwelling, and in the act of lying down on his couch, he won arahantship.

CXX

Isidatta.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the kingdom of Avanti at Velugāma,¹ as the son of a caravan guide, he became (by correspondence) the unseen friend of Citta, a house father at Macchikasayda. The latter wrote to him on the excellence of the Buddha, and sent him a copy of the system. This so moved him that he sought ordination under the Thera Kaccana the Great. In due course he acquired six-fold abhūññī. Thereupon he had a mind to visit the Buddha, and taking leave of the Thera, came in course of time to the Middle Country,² and had an interview with the Master. The latter asked him the question, 'How goes

which is noticeable in the many episodes related of him. To these other admonishers the Chronicle refers. Ananda was of the Gotama clan, cousin to the Buddha. The quaint term *bibhāḥ* is thus paraphrased *śhāśhāy* (lit., sticky sticky action?), the reiteration being intended as a deprecation of his preoccupation with the interests of the many to his own spiritual hindrance. For Ananda's psalm, see CCLX, cf. also CLXXV.

¹ Avanti lay north of the Vindhya Mountains, north east of Bombay. It was one of the four chief monarchies in India when Buddhism arose, and was later absorbed into the Moryan Empire. Its capital was Ujjeni. Velugāma (Bamboo-village) is not, so far, met with in other works (see *Buddhist India*, p 1 ff). Citta, whose home lay near Sāvātthi, was one of the most eminent lay supporters of the Buddha. On this further instance, in the later tradition, of the doctrine being propagated by writing of *AGVII*. On Kaccāna, see CCIV. Pronounced Chitta, Kaccāna.

¹ The Ganges Valley (Rhys Davids, 'The Middle Country,' *JRAS*, 1904, p. 83 ff.)

it with you, bhikkhu? Are you prospering?' And he replied: 'Exalted One, from the time when I was admitted into your Rule, all sorrow and pain left me, all sense of peril was calmed.' And he declared aññā in making that confession, uttering this verse:

The factors of my life well understood
Stand yet a little while with severed root.¹
Sorrow is slain! that quest I've won, and won
Is purity from fourfold Venom's stain.² (120)

¹ = verse 90, first half.

² *Aśāras*

CANTO II

PSALMS OF TWO VERSES

PART I

CXXI

Uttara

RECORDED in this Buddhāge at Rajagaha as the son of an eminent brahmin and named Uttara, he graduated in brahmin lore, and became renowned for his breeding, beauty, wisdom and virtue. Vassakara, a leading minister of Magadha, seeing his attainments, was desirous of marrying him to his daughter. But he with heart set on release declined, and he attended the teaching of the General of the Norm.¹ Winning faith, he entered the Order and fulfilled his novitiate, waiting upon Sariputta.

Now the Thera fell ill, and Uttara set out in the morning to seek a physician. On his round he set down his bowl on the banks of a lake and went to the water to wash out his mouth. Then a certain thief, pursued by the police, escaped from the town by the chief gate, and running by, dropped his stolen jewels into the novice's bowl, and fled. Then, as the latter came back to his bowl, the king's men passed in pursuit, and seeing the bowl, said 'This is the thief! He has done the burglary!' And bunding his arms behind, they brought him before Vassakāra the brahmin, and punished him.

Then the Exalted One, contemplating the ripeness of his insight went thither, and placing a gentle hand, like dropping of crimson gold, on Uttara's head, spake thus: 'Uttara, this is the fruit of previous action. Come here to pass it

¹ Sariputta chief of the disciples till his death.

is to be accepted by thee through the power of reflection,' and so taught him the Norm according to his need. Uttara, thus ambrosially anointed by the touch of the Master's hand, was transported with joy and rapture, and through the ripeness of his insight and the charm of his Master's teaching, 'so cast off all impurity that he attained sixfold abhiññā. Rising clear of the stake,¹ he stood in the air, performing a miracle out of compassion for others. To the amazement of all, his wound was healed. When asked by the bhikkhus, 'Brother, how were you able, suffering such pain, to apply insight?' he said, 'Since I clearly saw, Brothers, the evil of rebirths and the nature of the conditioned, it was not the lesser evil of present pain that could hinder me from increasing insight, and achieving attainment':²

There is no life that lasteth evermore,
Nor permanence in things from causes come.
They are reborn, the factors of our life,
Thereafter they dissolve and die away. (121)
Since *this* the evil claiming all my thought,
Sooth am I one who doth not seek to be.
Detached from all that worldly aims commend,
Of th' intoxicants have I now made an end.³ (122)

CXXII

Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the chaplain to king Udena of Kosambi, he was named Bhāradvāja.⁴

¹ *Sūlato upghahitā* He was presumably bound or impaled, or otherwise suffering punishment

² *Vueso*

³ *I e.*, 'I have won nibbāna and arabantship.' Commentary—verse 458.

⁴ Bhāradvāja seems to have been the name of a brahmin clan, though here given as a personal name (*S. Viśā*, p. 6, *Saṅg.*, i. 160). Hence either Piṇḍola is the personal name, or it is a soubriquet, analogous to our 'chunks,' associated with his earlier greedy habits

Having learnt the three Vedas, and teaching the hymns with great success to a school of brahmin youths, the work became distasteful. And leaving them, he went to Rājagṛha. Seeing there the gifts and favours bestowed on the Order of the Exalted One, he entered the same. He overcame intemperance in diet by the Teacher's methods, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

He thereupon announced before the Exalted One that he would answer the questions of any Brethren in doubt concerning path or fruit, thus uttering his 'lion's roar.'¹ Wherefore the Exalted One said of him. 'The chief among my disciples who are lion-roarers is Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja.'

Now there came to him a former friend, a brahmin of a miserly nature. And the Thera persuaded him to make an offering, handing it over to the Order. And because the brahmin believed the Thera was greedy and self seeking, the latter set himself to instruct him in the privileges of religious gifts, saying:

Not without rule and method must we live
But food as such is never near my heart.
'By nutriment the body is sustained':²
This do I know, and hence my quest for alms. (121)
'A [treacherous] bog' it is.—the wise know well:
These bows and gifts and treats from wealthy folk
'Tis like steel splinter bedded in the flesh,
For foolish brethren hard to extricate'³ (124)

His perfected self-mastery is the theme in *Udāna*, iv 6. He is persecuted for preaching by King Udena (*Jāt.* iv 375), but is subsequently consulted by the latter, who reforms his ways (*Sargy.* iv 110). He is rebuked for cheaply performing a miracle (*Vinaya Texts*, iii 78). Two untraced stanzas of his are quoted (*Mūlindā*, ii 835, 345).

¹ The usual idiom for an affirmation of competence or readiness to act (*Ang Nāl.* i 23).

² Included in the orthodox dictum 'All beings are sustained by nutriment' (*Dīgha Nāl.* iii 211, *Khuddaka Piṭṭha*).

³ See verses 197, 1053. Cf *Jātaka*, n. 222 (text).

CXXIII

Valliya.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as the son of an eminent brahmin, he was named Valliya. While adolescent and in the power of the senses, he formed virtuous friendships, whereby he came to the Exalted One, found faith and entered the Order, soon thereafter establishing insight and winning arahantship. Reflecting on the past with its worldly objects and desires, and on how, by the Ariyan Path, he now had turned from all that, he thus declared aññā:

Within the little five-doored hut an ape²
 Doth prowl, and round and round from door to door
 He hies, rattling with blows again, again. (125)
 Halt, ape! run thou not forth! for thee
 'Tis not herein as it was wont to be.
 Reason doth hold thee captive. Never more
 Shalt roam far hence [in freedom as of yore] (126)

CXXIV

Gangātīriya

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as a citizen's son, he was named Datta.³ And when, in his domestic

¹ Cf. LIII, and CXLIV.

² *Chitta* (consciousness), is, in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (u 9), pictured as the restless, varying leaps of a tree-monkey. The Commentary applies this simile to the present one of the ape under control. The ape is found in Tibetan drawings of the stages of (past, present, and future) life as the symbol of *viññāṇa*, the synonym for consciousness, or sense cognition (see *JRAS*, 1894, p. 367 ff. Apparently the Tibetan lamas had forgotten the tradition, or gave an explanation *which they knew would interest their medical interlocutor*, Major Waddell, or the latter evolved a Western interpretation out of their imperfectly understood descriptions) Cf. verse IIII in Ps. COLXII.

³ = Donatus. His story—how he came to take his mother and his sister as his wives, not knowing his relation to either—is told in the

life, he transgressed through ignorance, then discovered his offence, anguish seized him so that he left the world. Distressed at his deeds, he adopted a course of eusterity, and dwelt on the bank of the Ganges, making himself a tent of palm-leaves. Hence he became known as Gangatīriya (Ganges sider). And he resolved to speak to no one. So he kept silence for a whole year. In the second year, a woman of the village where he sought alms, wishing to find out whether he was dumb, spilt milk as she filled his bowl. And he let fall the words. 'Enough, sister.' But in the third year, after strenuous effort, he won arahantship. Thereupon he declared añña by word of mouth, extolling his past procedure in these verses

On Gangā's shore three palm tree leaves I took
 And made my hut, my bowl like funeral pot
 Wherewith men sprinkle milk upon a corpse;
 My cloak from refuse of the dust-heap culled¹ (127)
 Two years, from one rain-season till the next,
 I [there abode], nor spoke a word save once
 So till the third year passed—then the long night
 Of gloom asunder burst [and broke in light] (128)

Chronicle to the Sisters Psalms, pp 112, 115. The allusion here to his incest is so delicately or vaguely worded that it needs the explanation afforded by the Sister-chronicle. The Pali is as follows: *Gharā e way vasanto agamaniyatthi mabbh way ajinā e cūḍikkamay kattu puna agamaniyatthunabharay ātā*

¹ On such austerities, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii 89. The bowl here is not a skull (*charasūya*), but is described in the Commentary as *mat way khirusecanakusāḍa sādā*, 'like a milk sprinkling pot for the dead'—a sort of memento mori (cf Neumann). It is just possible that the text was originally *charasūena me patto*, as the idiom runs in the Vinaya but such skull bowls were forbidden. There is greater sobriety and dignity in the austerities of this Indian Œdipus than in the brutal self mutilation of the Greek king.

CXXV

Ajina

Reborn in this Buddha age at Svatthi in the family of a certain poor brahmin he was wrapt at birth in an antelope's skin, and was hence named Antelope (Ajina). Growing up in poverty, he saw the Jeta Grove presented, and the power and majesty of the Buddha. And gaining faith he left the world and not long after acquired super normal thought. When he had moreover won arahantship he, in consequence of past deeds, remained unhonoured and unknown. And some worldly novices among the bhikkhus despised him for this. Then the Thera agitated them with these verses

Even though a man have gained the Triple Lore
Have vanquished death and purged the intoxicants
Yet let him be to fame unknown poor fool
May in then ignorance look down on him (129)
But let him get the good things of this world
Then though he be of evil breed nonetheless
Service and honour will they render him (130)

CXXVI

Melajina

Reborn in this Buddha age at Benares in a nobleman's family, and named Melajina he became distinguished for learning and accomplishments, and renowned in all the country. When the Exalted One stayed at Benares in Isipatana Melajina went to hear him preach the Norm and gaining faith he entered the Order and won arahantship.

And when the bhikkhus asked how far he had acquired supernormal qualities, he uttered a 'lion's roar':

When I had heard the Master preach the Norm,
No doubts my mind could thenceforth entertain
In him all-knowing and invincible. (131)
Nor in a mighty hero like to him,
Lord of the caravan,¹ driver of men,
Peerless and grand, nor in the Path, the Rule,²
Can ever want of faith disturb my soul. (132)

CXXVII

Rādha.

Reborn in the time of our Exalted One at Rājagaha, as a brahmin, he was in his old age unable to perform his various duties. Being passed over,³ he went to the Master and revealed his needs. The Master, contemplating his graduation in essential conditions, ordered Sānputta to admit him. Soon after that he won arahantship. And thereafter, keeping near the Master, he became pre-eminent among those who, deriving from the Master's teaching,⁴ could speak impromptu.

¹ Cf. *Dialogues*, n 32. *Sattakārahe*, there rendered 'lord of the pilgrim band,' is here more literally reproduced.

² *Magge, paṭipadāyayam* etc., 'the Aryan [Eightfold] Path, and the Precepts, and so on' (Commentary). The verses may not seem an apposite reply, but if the *Compendium of Philosophy* (pp 65, 210, 213) be consulted, it will be seen that the expulsion of all forms of doubt was held to be a very essential preliminary to transcending normal experience.

³ *Paṭikkhitto*.

⁴ The passage assigning him pre-eminence is then quoted from *Ang*, i 25. Cf. with Vāṅsiśa's similar but not identical pre-eminence, Ps CCLXIV. This *Thera* is possibly identical with the 'venerable Rādha' addressed in many short discourses of the *Saṃyutta* (iii 79, 188 ff; iv 48 f.)

Now one day seeing how want of self-training occasioned governance by the passions, he exhorted thus :

E'en as into an ill-roofed house the rain
Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
So into mind by exercise untrained
Doth passion ever pierce and penetrate. (133)
And as into a well-roofed house no rain
Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
So into mind by calm and insight trained
Doth passion never pierce and penetrate¹ (134)

CXXVIII

Surādha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the younger brother of the aforesaid Rādhā, he followed his elder brother's example, and became an arahant also. To show the saving guidance of the Rule, he declared añña thus :

All coming back to birth is now destroyed.
The Conqueror's Rule hath guided all my ways;²
That which we call the Net have I put off;³
The lust that leads to life is rooted out. (135)
And the great quest, for which I left the world,
Forsaking home a homeless life to lead,
Even that quest and high reward I've won,
For I am he whose bonds are riven in twain⁴ (136)

¹ 'Exercise,' 'calm and insight'—in the text *bhāvanā*—the collective name for the systematized effort in self-training of the disciple who seeks perfection (*Devī Pīṭ*, p. 261, n. 2). Specified as 'calm and insight' in the Commentary. *Of Compendium*, p. 201 ff.

² 'The holy life of the Path has been lived by me' (Commentary)

³ *Cf. Dhammapadam*, verse 251, *Sāy*, in 63. Commentary, 'net' = error, ignorance. More usually it = craving, or sense. Surādha is possibly the listener in one discourse of the *Sāyutta* (iii, 79)

⁴ CCX, 380

CXXIX

Gotama

Reborn in this Buddha-ago at Rajagaha in a Brahmin family,¹ and named Gotama he fell, when still a youth, into bad company and gave all that he had to a courtesan. Repenting thereafter of his vicious ways, he beheld a vision of the Master seated—of Him who had discerned the progress of his mind and his attainment of the conditions. Ho with heart assured went to the Master, was taught and believed. Entering the Order, he won arahantship, even as the razor touched his hair. And while he was pondering the bliss of jhana and of fruition, a lay companion asked him concerning his property. He confessed how he had lived unchastely, and declaring añña by his present purity from passion, said:

At ease they sleep the wise and pure who neer
Are bound to womankind for these must nee
Be kept neath watch and ward and among them
Tis ever hard to learn the truth of things.² (137)
War to the knife with thee O lust we've waged
Now are we quit and free of debt to thee
Now fare we onward to that Going-out³
Where at our journey's end we weep no more. (138)

¹ Not identical with the other Gotama Thera of CLXXXIII CCXXX.

² There is a nice discriminating touch about the Commentary's remark. Now to him [the friend] who is still bound to *rich women* the Thera, to show his own complete expropriation of that lust, says the second verse. The use of the first person plural is a rare feature in Buddhist hymns. It must refer to a solidarity of freed minds and not to the speaker and his quondam friend's share the latter does still the worldly ties.

³ Nibbāna in the original. Since the Thera is an arahant this can only refer to his Parinibbāna, the complete extinction of his life spatially figured—his *anāpārasa nibbāna* says the Commentary however that was conceived.

CXXX

Vasabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, as the son of a Licchavi rāja,¹ he was won over by the majesty of the Buddha when the latter went to Vesālī, and left the world. In due course he won arhantship, and thereafter, gracious to his patrons, he did not reject the necessities they provided, but enjoyed what he received. The common-minded deemed him self-indulgent, but he continued taking no account of them.

But near him dwelt a fraudulent bhikkhu, who deceived the people by pretending to lead the simple life, content with little, and was honoured by them. Then Sakka, ruler of the devas, discerned this, and came to Vasabha Thera and asked: 'Your reverence, what is it that an impostor does?' The Thera, in rebuke to that evil-door, replied:

He erst doth work destruction to himself;
 Thereafter doth he ruin other men.
 Most thoroughly works he mischief to himself,
 Even as decoy-bird² by its own deceit. (139)
 No brahmin he, by outward colour judged.
 By inner hue shall ye the brahmin know.
 He in whom deeds show evil, even he
 Is swarth of face, O consort of Sujā.³ (140)

PART II

CXXXI

Cunda the Great.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, at Nalaka village, as the son of the brahmin Rūpasāri,

¹ See above, p 61, n 4

² *Of utayna kakkaro*, the decoy jungle-cock in *Jai*, n 161.

³ *Sujāmpati*, a title given to Sakka, whose consort goddess was Sujā. On the spiritual complexion, *cf Digha Nikāya*, Suttantas iii, iv., and xvii; *Sutta Nipāṭi*, Vāsetṭha Sutta

and younger brother of Sāriputta,¹ he followed the latter into the Order, and after arduous, strenuous effort won arahantship. And glorying in his attainment and in solitude of life, he uttered this psalm.

The will to learn maketh of learning growth;
Learning² makes insight grow, and by insight
We know the Good: known Good brings bliss
along (141)

Seek ye the lonely haunts remote from men;³
Practise the life of liberty from Bonds.
If there ye come not by your heart's desire,
Dwell with the Brethren, mindful and controlled (142)

CXXXII

Jotidāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha age as the son of a wealthy brahmin, in the Pāḍiyattha country, he was named Jotidāsa.⁴ When come of age he saw Kassapa the Great one day going his round for alms, and entertained him in his house, and heard him discourse. On the hill near the village he himself had a great vihāra built for the Thera, and supplied him with the four requisites. Moved thereafter by the Thera's teaching he left the world, and not long after won the sixfold abhiñña. After ten years, during which he learnt

¹ Cf. *Saṃy*, iv 251, v. 161, *Psalm*, I, p. 96. With his brother he visits Channa (*Majjh*, iii 263, *Saṃy*, iv 55). He was one of the nine or ten chief Theras. Three discourses are ascribed to him in the *Anguttara*: *Nikāya*, addressed to the bhikkhus, and preaching modesty and mutual tolerance, especially between the erudite and the more mystically inclined (iii. 355).

² *Lat*, *hearing*, significant of an era of oral instruction and mnemonic recording.

³ The Master's own advice to him (*Majjh*, i 46).

⁴ Vahā Kassapa lived near Rājagaha (CCLXI), but neither Jotidāsa nor Pāḍiyattha janapada have been met with in other works.

CXXX

Vasabha

Reborn in this Buddha age at Vesali as the son of a Licchavi raja,¹ he was won over by the majesty of the Buddha when the latter went to Vesali and left the world. In due course he won arahantship, and thereafter, gracious to his patrons, he did not reject the necessities they provided, but enjoyed what he received. The common minded deemed him self-indulgent but he continued taking no account of them.

But near him dwelt a fraudulent bhikkhu who deceived the people by pretending to lead the simple life, content with little, and was honoured by them. Then Sakka ruler of the devas discerned this, and came to Vasabha Thera and asked 'Your reverence, what is it that an impostor does? The Thera, in rebuke to that evil doer, replied

He erst doth work destruction to himself
 Thereafter doth he ruin other men
 Most thoroughly works he mischief to himself
 Even as decoy bird² by its own deceit (139)
 No brahmin he by outward colour judged
 By inner hue shall ye the brahmin know
 He in whom deeds show evil even he
 Is unworthy of face O consort of Sujā³ (140)

PART II

CXXXI

Cunda the Great

Reborn in this Buddha age in the king dom of Magadha, at Nalaka village, as the son of the brahmince Rāṇasāri,

¹ see above p 54 n 4

² Cf. *ellayya lakkaro* the decoy jungle-cock in J 11. 161

³ *Sujāṇa pati*, a title given to Sakka whose consort goddess was Sujā. On the spiritual complexion of Dharma Vekya's buttantā III. iv an 1 xxii. *Sutta Nipita Vāseṭṭi* 4. 11a

the three Pitakas, with special proficiency in the Vinaya Pitaka¹ and waited on the fraternity, he set out with many bhikkhus to salute the Exalted One at Sāvattthi. On the way he entered a theologian's park, and seeing a brahmin practising the fivefold austerity,² he asked 'Why, brahmin, do you not burn otherwise in a different heat?' The brahmin annoyed, answered 'Master shaveling, what other heat is there?' The Thera replied

*Anger, and envy, and all cruel deeds,
And pride, and arrogance, and wanton strife
Craving and ignorance, and lust of life
These burn away and let thy body be!'*³

and therewith taught him the Norm. And all those theologians besought him for ordination.

On leaving Sāvattthi he went to his former home and admonished his relatives in these verses

They who in divers ways by deeds of force
And violence,⁴ rude and rough mannered folk
Do work their fellow creatures injury,
Thereby they too themselves are overthrown.
For never is the effect of action lost (143)
The deed a man doth be it good or ill
To all his doing is he verily the heir (144)

¹ Cf. Punnā who learnt them in a former birth (*Sisters* p. 116 again above LXX). We may concede thus much to the plausibility of the Commentator's statement—that a threefold body of doctrine would be taking shape during the founder's long ministry.

² *I.e.* surrounded by four fires with the sun beating on him above.

³ I have not traced these lines.

⁴ On the word *ceghamissena* etc. (*cf. Dialogues* ii 107 n. 3) the Commentary has 'Tagging the head etc. by rein strap etc. blows given by hand foot etc.'

⁵ *Kīraṇī*. Dr Neumann has *seen sow* as if scattering seed. The Commentary ignores any such metaphor, and has 'as they have made suffering for others so by others are they made to suffer'—*tathā eva an etā kīraṇī dikkhāyapāyāti*. Cf. *abhi-kīraṇī* in verse 509.

CXXXIII

Heraññakāni

Reborn in this Buddha age as the son of one who was a tenant in chief of the King of Kosala, and in command of bandits,¹ he succeeded to his father's position at the latter's death. Converted on seeing the Buddha accept the Jeta Grove he put his younger brother in his place, left the world and soon after won arahantship. He thereupon sought to turn his brother to a better life, and on seeing him attached to it, urged him in these verses

The days the nights flit by and pass away
 Life is arrested and the span
 To mortals given is consumed and fails
 Like water in the shallow mountain streams (115)
 But evil actions still the fool commits
 Nor understands how dire the aftermath
 Till comes the bitter hour of action's fruit (116)

Hearing the Thera's homily the brother besought the king's leave, and left the world, and not long after found salvation

CXXXIV

Somamitta

Reborn in this Buddha age at Benares, in a brahmin's family and named Somamitta he became an expert in the three Vedas but was converted by the Thera Vimala² and took orders. He dwelt near the Thera, fulfilling his duties. But the latter was given to sloth and torpor. And Somamitta thinking 'Who can be virtuous near a sluggard?

¹ *Cora vos saho* one having highwaymen or dacoits at his bidding whether to employ or to suppress is doubtful.

² Cf. the Vinaya of CXXXIV who was also of Benares

went to Kassapa the Great,¹ and attending his lectures, established insight, and soon after attained arahantship. Thereupon he rebuked Vimala in these verses

As one who, mounted on a puny plank,
Is in mid ocean whelmed beneath the waves
So even he of blameless life doth sink,
When thrown together with the man of sloth,
Wherefore from such an one keep well apart
The sluggard and the poor in energy (147)
Dwell thou with them who live aloof,
With wise, with noble souls who have renounced,
Who in rapt contemplation ever strive * (148)

Hearing him, Thera Vimala was deeply moved, and establishing insight, bestirred himself to win salvation, the which he will be seen hereafter to attain

CXXXV

Sabbamitta

Reborn in this Buddha age in the family of a brahmin of Savatthi, and named Sabbamitta, he saw, at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, the wondrous power of the Buddha, and entering the Order he obtained a subject for exercise and dwelt in the forest. After the rains he went into Savatthi to salute the Buddha, and on his way there lay a fawn caught in a trapper's net. The doe, though not in the net, kept near from love for her young yet dared not come close to the snare. The fawn, turning hither and thither, bleated for pity. Then the Thera 'Alas! the suffering that love brings to creatures!' Going further he saw many bandits wrapping a man they had captured alive in straw, and

¹ I.e., to Rajagaha (CCLXI)

² Repeated in CXXXX

about to set fire to it. Hearing his cries, the Thera, out of his distress at both these things, uttered a verse within hearing of the bandits.

Folk are bound up with folk and cling to folk.
 Folk suffer scathe from folk and wreak the same (149)
 What boots thee then this folk, and brood of folk? *
 Let the folk go and get thee gone from them,
 Who as they go injure so many folk ¹ (150)

So saying, he forced his way to insight, and won arahantship. But the brigands, listening to his teaching, were moved in heart and renounced the world, practising the Norm in principle and in detail.

CXXXVI

Mahākāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Setavya, in the family of a merchant, he was named Mahakala ² When come of age and dwelling at home, he took five hundred carts of merchandise to trade with to Savatthi. While resting there with his men in the evening, he saw the lady going with perfumes and garlands to the Jeta Grove, and went with them. There he heard the Master preach the Norm, believed, and entered the Order. Deciding on cemetery-contemplation, he dwelt in the charnel-field. And one day a woman named Kāh, employed as crematrix, ³ in order to give the Thera an object-study, cut off from a recently cremated body both thighs and both arms, and breaking the head into the semblance of a milk-bowl, arranged all

¹ I read *gacchantāy*

² So the Commentary; not 'kāla. The name thus means 'big dark one,' or, in the convenient Italian nomenclature, Neraccio. Kāh, too, is 'brunette'

³ In *Jāt*, v 449, we meet with a man pursuing this trade

the members together, placed them where the Thera studied for him to look at, and sat down at the side. The Thera seeing this exhorted himself in these verses

Kāḷi woman broad and swart of hue as blackbird
 Now hath broken off a thighbone now another
 Now hath broken off an arm and now another
 Now the skull hath broken off as twere a milk bowl
 Made them ready and is seated (151)

He who witless doth not understand but maketh
 Cause for life renewed comes back again to sorrow
 Wherefore he who knows creates no more new
 causes

May I neer so be again with scattered mem-
 bers!¹ (152)

Thus wholly self mastered, the Thera brought forth insight
 and won arahantship

¹ The account of Kālī's activity closes with an odd half line as if to mark by a pause the abrupt transition from the Thera's half-amused notice of her grisly service to the solemn quest of the End of Sorrow on which he is bent. This is a good instance of a poem which is scarcely intelligible without the Commentary's help. If that help thair ore literal the translation the more intelligible is the verse. Without it we have but to look at Dr. Neumann's guessing and forced rendering making Kālī a wanton and the good bhikkhu a prudent-minded fellow to realize how relatively sane and simple even a scholastic exegesis may be. The practice of *Asubha-jhāna*, or meditation on a base of some unlovely object was recommended from the early days of the Saṅgha and, to judge by the accompanying illustration of a Ceylonesse bhikkhu of to-day is still practised. Cf. *Dud 123* p. 69 n. 2



ASCIHABHANA IN Ceylon

Ma j I ne er so l e aga n w th scattere l n embers

CXXXVII

Tissa¹

Reborn in this Buddha age at Rajagaha, in a brahmin's family and named Tissa he became an expert in the Vedas teaching the mantras to five hundred brahmin boys and winning the highest praise and renown. When the Master came to Rajagaha Tissa saw the Buddha majesty and believed and entered the Order thereafter winning arahantship through established insight. So also he won praise and renown.

Now certain worldly minded bhikkhus noting the attention paid to the Thera were unable to endure it. The Thera knew this and declared the evil in such attentions and his own detachment therefrom in these verses:

Many the foes he gets the bhikkhu shorn
 Wrapt in his robe to whom the world gives gifts
 Of food and drink raiment and where to lodge (13)
 I let him then knowing all the bane herefrom
 The fearsome peril in the world's regard
 Taking but little free from lustings taint
 Wary and mindful hold his onward way (154)

Then those bhikkhus straightway sought the Thera's forgiveness.

CXXXVIII

Kimbila

His meeting with the Buddha his emotion and his leaving the world are told in Canto I the verse beginning *As bidden by some power*.² Here the Thera tells how he dwelt

¹ Clearly quite a different Tissa from either of the foregoing Theras so named. Cf Ps XXXIX. XCVI.

² His story having been given in Ps CXXXVIII the Chronicle begins at once with the circumstances resulting in the gatha.

fraternally with his comrades, the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Bhaddiya Sakīyan rajas

Where lies the Eastern Bamboo Grove we dwell
 Sons of the Sakīyans comrades [all and true]
 No little wealth have we renounced for this
 Contented with whatever fills our bowl (153)
 Quickened and ardent is our energy
 Earnest and resolute [our hearts intent]
 Ever we boldly press toward [our goal]
 Love of the Norm our [sure and sole] delight
 All worldly loves by us forsworn outright (156)

CXXXIV

Nanda

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu as the son of Raja Suddhodana and of Great Pajapati¹ and a joy to his kin on his naming day he was named Nanda. When Nanda was of age, the Master, rolling the Wheel of the Norm came out of compassion to Kapilavatthu. Making a shower of rain the occasion he told the Vessantara Jataka*. On the second day, by the verse 'Rise up' he established his father as a Stream winner, Pajapati also by the verse 'Follow after a holy life, and the rajas further as a Once returner'. On the third day when seeking alms at the coronation hall where congratulations were being offered to Prince Nanda on his wedding the Master handed the prince his bowl and wished him luck. And he taking the bowl followed the Master to the Vihara who there ordained him though Nanda wished it not.

¹ See Ps I p 6 f. Nanda is called Nandya above (Ps XXV). This single verse may have been incorporated from some such collection of Mara anecdotes as those in the Dhakkhuni Saggiyita (see Windisch *Mara and Buddha* p 134) and the form for Nandya used there left unaltered. The difference is only that between, e.g. Joy Joyous.

* *Jat* vi, No 51. *Buddhist Birth Stories* p 194

fraternally with his comrades, the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Bhaddiya, Sakīyan rajas

Where lies the Eastern Bamboo Grove we dwell,
 Sons of the Sakīyans, comrades [all and true]
 No little wealth have we renounced for this,
 Contented with whatever fills our bowl (155)
 Quickened and ardent is our energy,
 Earnest and resolute [our heart's intent],
 Ever we boldly press toward [our goal]
 Love of the Norm our [sure and sole] delight,
 All worldly loves by us forsworn outright (156)

CXXIX

Nanda.

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of Raja Suddhodana and of Great Pajapati¹ and a joy to his kin, on his naming day he was named Nanda. When Nanda was of age, the Master, rolling the Wheel of the Norm, came out of compassion to Kapilavattha. Making a shower of rain the occasion, he told the Vessantara Jataka². On the second day, by the verse 'Rise up,' he established his father as a Stream winner, Pajapati also by the verse, 'Follow after a holy life,' and the raja further, as a Once returner. On the third day, when seeking alms at the coronation hall where congratulations were being offered to Prince Nanda on his wedding, the Master bade the prince his bowl and wished him luck. And he, taking the bowl, followed the Master to the Vihara, who there ordained him, though Nanda wished it not.

¹ See Ps I, p 6 f. Nanda is called Nandīya above (Ps XXV). This single verse may have been incorporated from some such collection of Māra anecdotes as those in the Bhikkhusaṃyutta (see Windisch *Māra und Buddha*, p 184) and the form for his name used there left unaltered. The difference is only that between, e.g. Joy, Joyous.

² *Jat* vi, No 547, *Buddhist Birth Stories* p 124

From that time, knowing that Nanda was oppressed by his distaste, the Master trained it away, so that Nanda, by thoroughgoing meditation established insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter, enjoying the bliss of liberty, he said 'O excellent method of the Master, whereby I was drawn out of the bog of rebirth and set on Nibbana's strand! And joying in his reflection¹ he uttered these verses

Heedless and shallow once my thoughts were set
On all the bravery of outward show
Fickle was I and frivolous, all my days
Were worn with wanton sensuality (157)
But by the Buddha's skilful art benign
Who of sun's lineage cometh, was I brought
To live by deeper thought whereby my heart
From the great swamp of endless life I drew (158)

And the Exalted One, discerning how eminently he was trained in self-control, declared him before the Order to be chief therein among his disciples² even therein conferring that distinction to which the Thera, in past ages, had once aspired

CXL

Sirimat

Reborn in this Buddha age at Sāvattthi, in a burgess's family, he was named Sirimat (Faustus) because of his family's good fortune and constant success. His younger brother, as increaser of that good fortune, was named Sirivaddha (growth of luck)³. They both saw the majesty of the Buddha when the Jeta Grove was presented, believed, and entered the Order. Sirivaddha though at first he won no abnormal powers, was honoured and feted by laity and

¹ Bhara becoming *Saysirapankhe samugga* Cy

² He is so distinguished in *Ang* A 1, 2.

³ Evidently not the Thera of Ps. XII

recluses But Sirimat, through defective karma, was little honoured, nevertheless, exercising himself in calm and insight, he soon won the sixfold abhiñña

Now the ordinary bhikkhus and novices, not knowing Sirimat was an Ariyan, continued to disparage him and to honour his brother Then the Thera, blaming their faulty judgment, said

Others may laud and honour him
Whose self is uncontrolled
Surely amiss their praise is given,
Since self is uncontrolled (159)
Others may chide and censure him
Whose self is well controlled
Surely amiss their blame is given,
Since self is well controlled (160)

Then Sirivaddha, hearing him, was agitated, and establishing insight, not long after he also completed his salvation. And they who had blamed the Thera sought his forgiveness

PART III

CYLI

Uttara.

RECORV in this Buddha age at Sāketa,¹ in a brahmin's family, he was named Uttara Convinced by the twin-miracle at the Gaṇḍamba tree at Sāvattthī,² whither some business had taken him, he was induced to leave the world when the Master, at Sāketa, preached the Kālaka Park discourse³ Going with the Master to Rājagaha, he there developed insight and acquired sixfold abhiñña Returning again to Sāvattthī to wait on the Buddha, the bhikkhus asked him 'What, Brother, have you already accomplished your

¹ See XXVIII

² Wrought by the Buddha (Sum. I', 57)

³ Ang. ii, 24 on a Tathāgata's clarity of knowledge and integrity

religious duties? He, declaring *ahimsa*, replied in these verses

Well do I understand the factors five
 And well is craving rooted out in me,
 Developed are the seven wisdom-chorals
 And all the poison fumes are shrunk to nought (1C1)
 And since the factors now are understood
 I—look you!—casting out the Hunters all
 [Who sets her netted snare for every thought]¹
 And cultivating wisdom's harmony²
 Same and immune in peace shall pass away³ (1C2)

CXLII

Bhaddaji

Reborn in this Buddha age at Bhaddiya⁴ as the only child of a councillor whose fortune was worth eighty crores⁵ he was named Bhaddaji, and was brought up in luxury, like that attending the Bodhisat in his last rebirth (The Commentary then relates the story of his sudden

¹ So *hag* (lit. 'this [self same] I

² Expansion of the one word *jñāna* 'she who lays a net'—i.e. craving—by the suffix *on* of which the manifold web of the senses becomes as a net (*Itthasāṃ* n. 4, p. 363 *Bud Ind* p. 272 n. 2) *Cittasāṃ* *saṃvinnāna* u *līharisā* (Commentary)

³ *Bojjhaṅga* as in verse 101 Cf *Compendium* pp. 66 180 f The Commentary calls the seven 'the concord of the Norm

⁴ *Vibbīṭṭiya* *anagara* by the expiry of the *lā* (moment of) consciousness like a fire without fuel, I shall *jāṇissāmi* *nāma* without danger (of rebirth) (Commentary).

⁵ In the *Angas* country east of *Vagadha*. *Bhaddajama* was near *Patna*. The *Bodhisat* is of course *Goama* before he became a *Buddha*. The Commentary differs from the *Jāṇissā* version (see next page) only in a few small details, and uses independent phrases only.

⁶ *I.e.* 800,000,000. The unit seems to have been a copper coin termed *kaṭṭapaṇa*. See *Bud Ind* i p. 100 f.

recluses But Sirimat, through defective karma, was little honoured, nevertheless, exercising himself in calm and insight, he soon won the sixfold abhūma

Now the ordinary bhikkhus and novices, not knowing Sirimat was an Ariyan, continued to disparage him and to honour his brother Then the Thera, blaming their faulty judgment, said

*Others may praise and honour him
Whose self is uncontrolled
Surely amidst their praise is given
Since self is uncontrolled (109)
Others may chide and censure him
Whose self is well controlled
Surely amidst their blame is given,
Since self is well controlled (100)*

Then Sirivaddha hearing him, was agitated and establishing insight, not long after he also completed his salvation And they who had blamed the Thera sought his forgiveness

PART III

CALI

Uttara

REBORN in this Buddha age at Saketa¹ in a brahmin's family, he was named Uttara Convinced by the twin miracle at the Gandamba tree at Savatthi² whither some business had taken him, he was induced to leave the world when the Master at Saketa, preached the Kalaka Park discourses³ Going with the Master to Rajagaha he there developed insight and acquired sixfold abhūma Returning again to Savatthi to wait on the Buddha the bhikkhus asked him 'What Brother, have you already accomplished your

¹ See XLVIII

² Wrought by the Buddha (*Sam V 57*)

³ *Ang II 24* on a Tathagata's clarity of knowledge and integrity

religious duties?' He, declaring aññā, replied in these verses:

Well do I understand the factors five,
 And well is craving rooted out in me,
 Developed are the seven wisdom-choirs,
 And all the poison-fumes are shrunk to nought. (161)
 And since the factors now are understood,
 I—look you!¹—casting out the Huntress fell
 [Who sets her netted snare for every thought],²
 And cultivating wisdom's harmony,³
 Sane and immune, in peace shall pass away.⁴ (162)

CXXII

Bhaddaji.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Bhaddiya,⁵ as the only child of a councillor whose fortune was worth eighty crores,⁶ he was named Bhaddaji, and was brought up in luxury, like that attending the Bodhisat in his last rebirth . . . (The Commentary then relates the story of his sudden

¹ So 'hañ, *ist.* 'this [self same] I'

² Expansion of the one word *jālinī*, 'she who lays a net'—*i.e.*, craving—'by the suffusion of which the manifold web of the senses becomes as a net' (*Atthasālinī*, p. 363, *Bud. Pay.*, p. 278, n. 2) *Cittacittasaniññato uddharitvā* (Commentary)

³ *Bopphangā*, as in verse 161. *Cf. Compendium*, pp. 66, 180 *f* The Commentary calls the seven 'the concord of the Norm'

⁴ *Asābhayaṃ anāsaro*, 'by the expiry of the last (moment of) consciousness, like a fire without fuel, I shall *parinibbā*-ate without danger (of rebirth)' (Commentary)

⁵ In the Angas' country, east of Magadha. *Koṭṭigāma* was near Patna. The Bodhisat is, of course, Gotama, before he became a Buddha. The Commentary differs from the Jātaka version (see next page) only in a few small details, and uses independent phraseology

⁶ *I.e.*, 800,000,000. The unit seems to have been a copper coin, termed *kaṭṭhapaṇa*. See *Bud. India*, p. 100 *ff.*

realization of arahantship while listening for the first time to the Buddha, the latter having come from Savatthi purposely to seek him out, together with his following the Master and his company, the week after, to Kotigama, and retiring to the bank of the Ganges to become absorbed in jhana. Thence he emerges only when the Master came by, not heeding the preceding chief Theras. To vindicate his new supreme attainments, the Buddha invites him on to his own ferry boat, and bids him work a wonder. Bhaddayi thereupon raises the submerged palace he dwelt in when he was King Panada, all being told in the 'Maha panada Jataka,' ii, No 264. Then the Thera described the golden mansion in which he had once lived, speaking of himself, that self having passed away,¹ as of another.

Panada was that king by name
Whose palace was of gold,
Sixteen apartments deep it stood,
Aloft a thousandfold (163)

A thousand flights it rose on high,
Its walls with scroll work dight,
With many a flaunting banner hung
With emeralds glittering bright
Twas there they danced, Gandharvas danced
Six thousand in seven bands (164)

¹ On this mythical king see also *Digha* iii 78 *Jat* iv No 489 *Dipavajsa* iii 7, *Mahavajsa* (translation) xxx. 7 ff. *Jat* No 264 gives a fuller account of Bhaddayi's performance. The text versions are uncertain in some of the descriptive terms and the Commentary's authorities are equally divided. Hence the attempt at ballad form above does not claim to have selected an absolutely correct rendering. The last two lines refer to the vain efforts of mimes or musicians collected by Panada's ruler to make the prince smile. He remnant of celestial art, was only moved to a slight smile when Sakka, the god sent a celestial harlequin (*Jat*, op cit).

CXLIII

Sobhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Sobhita. And after he had heard the Master teach, had left the world and acquired sixfold abhiññā, he practised recollecting his former lives with such success that the Master ranked him foremost among those who could so remember.¹ And he, reflecting on his pre-eminence in attainment, was filled with joy, and breathed forth this psalm :

A bhikkhu mindful, gifted with insight,
With strenuous effort strongly set to work,
Have I [the infinite past] recalled to mind :
Five hundred ages in a single night. (165)

O let the Onsets Four of mindfulness²
My study be, the Seven,³ the noble Eight !⁴
For I [the infinite past] have called to mind :
Five hundred ages in a single night. (166)

CXLIV

‘Valliya.’

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Kanhamitta. Come of age, he saw the majesty of the Buddha when the latter came to Vesālī,

¹ *Ang*, i, 23. Sister Bhaddā Kapilāni was also thus distinguished (*Sisters*, p. 47). Sobhita Thera (possibly this man) was the third in the apostolic succession of thirteen Abhidhammikas, who handed down this teaching till Mahinda conveyed it to Ceylon. Bhaddaji Thera was second. (*Atthasālini*, p. 32).

² See *Dialogues*, ii, 327 ff.; *Compendium*, p. 179. *Bhavayaṇa* = *bhavana* hotu (Commentary).

³ *Factors of Enlightenment, Wings of Wisdom* (*Compendium*, p. 180).

⁴ The Eightfold Path (*ibid*).

and believing, he took orders under Mahā-Kaccāna. Dull of insight, and beginning to make effort, he was so long dependent upon the wisdom of his co-religionists that they called him Valliya (Crooperling), saying, 'Like ivy and such plants, that cannot grow leaning on nothing, so he cannot get on without leaning on someone who is wise.'¹

And it came to pass that he went to hear Thera Venudatta preach, and becoming thereby heedful and intelligent and ripe in knowledge, he asked that proficient teacher, saying:

All that by earnest work has to be done,
 All that one fain to wake to truth must do,
 All that shall be my work nor shall I fail.
 O see my forward strides in energy! (107)
 And do thou show me how and where to go—
 The Path that's founded on Ambrosia—²
 So I in silent study pondering
 Shall to the silence of the seers attain,
 As glides great Gangā's river to the main³ (108)

Then Venudatta gave him an exercise for study, and he, working at it, not long after won arahantship. Declaring eññā, he uttered those same verses.

¹ Apparently a different Thera from the Valliyas of LIII and CXXIII, in whose case Valliya would seem to be no nickname. I have called *vallī* (creeper) 'ivy,' because of its typically representing for us such a character. On Mahā-Kaccāna, see CCXIX. Venudatta is not met with elsewhere.

² *Nibbāna patitthitattā* (Commentary)

³ The quarter verse *ahaj monena monasag* has been perhaps unduly expanded, but it was to do justice to the association, for classic Indian literature, between the seer or sage (*muni*) and silence (cf. *Chandogya Upanishad*, viii 5, 2). The simile of the Ganges illustrates both silent progress and attainment. Nevertheless, the Commentary will have nothing to do with silence, for it, *monena* is 'by wisdom or insight,' and *monasag* is 'I shall know or discern (*Nibbāna*).'

CXLV

Vitasoka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, in the two hundred and eighteenth year thereof, as the younger brother of King Dhammāsoka, he was named Vitasoka.¹ Come of age, he acquired the accomplishments befitting noble youths, and then as a lay-pupil of Thera Giridatta became highly proficient in the Sutta- and Abhidhamma-Pitakas.

Now one day when his hair was being dressed, he took the mirror from the barber's hand, and contemplating his body, saw some grey hairs. In agitation he sent down insight into his mind, and exerting himself to meditate, he became, as he there sat, a Stream-winner. Taking Orders under Giridatta, he not long after won arahantship. Thereupon he thus declared aññā :

'Now let him shave me !'—so the barber came.

From him I took the mirror and, therein

Reflected, on myself I gazed and thought : (169)

'Futile for lasting is this body shown'

[Thus thinking on the source that blinds our sight

My spirit's] darkness melted into light.

Stripped are the swathing vestments utterly !²

Now is there no more coming back to he ? (170)

¹ According to the Commentary, Vitasoka (one who has ended grief) is none other than the younger brother of Emperor Asoka, whose career forms an episode in the Divyāvadāna (translated by Burnouf in *Buddhisme Indien*, 1844), in which Vitasoka is impelled to leave the world through the arahant Yasa. Neither Giridatta nor the barber episode is alluded to, which shows how different was the tradition handed on by Dharmapāla. The grey hair episode is a very old tale, told in *Mggh.* ii 83. *Jut.* i. No. 9.

² The barber was also bathman and head-dresser, hence *colā* (vestments), which means any napery, may be an allusion to the muslin folds of the turban, or to bath robes and towels, or to dress. The Commentary only expands the altered scale of values in the prince's life. *Pacchavakkhassay* has the double sense of our 'reflected'.

CXLVI

Punnamasa.¹

Reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi in the family of a landed proprietor, he left the work after the birth of his firstborn. And dwelling near a village, he strove and worked till he acquired sixfold abhiñña. Going thereupon to Savatthi and saluting the Master, he dwelt in a charnel-field. Now his son died, and his wife, desirous that their property, having no heirs, should not be taken over by the rajas, went with a large following to greet her husband, and induce him to leave the religious life. But the Thera, to show his passionless state and to vindicate his attainment, stood in the air and said

All the five Hindrances that bar the way²
 Against the safe, sure peace³ I put aside
 The mirror of the holy Norm I grasped —⁴
 The knowing and the seeing what we are— (171)
 So I reflected on this grouped frame⁵
 Within and oke without, and I behold
 How, whether it was mine or not of me,
 The body empty [is and vanity] (172)

CXLVII

Nandaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Campa,⁶ in a burgess's family, he was named Nandaka. He was the younger

¹ See the other version in V. The Commentary recognizes no identity.

² Desires of sense malevolence sluggishness distraction perplexity —to 'put aside' these was the essential preliminary to attaining the serenity and detachment for fruitful intellectual effort (*Dialogues* i 82-84).

³ *Jogakkhema*. See XXXII.

⁴ *Sutera*, verse 222.

⁵ *Kāyo* is both body (*sarira*) and, generally, a group or organism.

⁶ Capital of the Angas now Bagulpur. Pronounced Champā.

brother of Bharata, whose story will next be told. When both were come of age, they heard that Sona-Kolvisā¹ had left the world. And saying 'Even Sona who is so delicate has gone forth, now what of us? they, too, left the world. Bharata soon acquired sixfold abhinnā but Nandaka, through the strength of the corruptions, was not able to command insight, and could only practise for it. Then Bharata, wishing to help him, made him his attendant, and went forth from the vihāra. Sitting down near the road he discoursed to him of insight.

Now a caravan passing by, an ox unable to pull his cart through a boggy place, fell down. The leader had him released from the cart and fed with grass and water. His fatigue nllayed the ox, reharnessed and strengthened, pulled the cart out of the bog. Then Bharata said 'Did you see that business, brother Nandaka? 'I did' 'Consider its meaning' And Nandaka said 'Like the refreshed ox, I, too, must draw forth myself out of the swamp of saṃsāra' And taking this as his subject in practising he won arahantship. Then to his brother he declared anūṣa in these verses

Even though he trip and fall the mettled brute
Of noble breed will steadfast stand once more
Incited yet again to effort new,
Foregone no longer draws his load along (173)
So look on me as one who having learned
Of Him the all-enlightened One and gained
Firm insight, am become of noble breed
And of the Very Buddha son indeed (174)

CXLVIII

Bharata.

Now when his younger brother Nandaka had confessed that he had gotten anūṣa, Bharata conceived the idea

¹ See CCXLIII. The following object lesson occurs in the case of Rama-ya vihāra as the Commentary reminds us (CLV.)

'Let us both go forthwith to the Master, and tell him how we have carried out holiness of life' And he said these verses to Nandaka

Come, Nandaka, now go we unto Him
Whose blessed teaching taught us all we know,
And in the presence of the Wake, the Chief,
Let's rout the lion's paw of our hearts (175)
That quest for which the holy Sage in love
And great compassion bade us¹ both go forth—
That Good supreme both you and I have won,
And every bond that hindered us is gone (176)

CXLIX

Bharadvāja

Reborn in this Buddha age at Rajagaha in a brahmin's family, he came to be designated by his gens-name of Bharadvāja.² Living the domestic life, a son was born to him, and he named him Kanhadinna. When the boy was of proper age, his father said, 'Come dear boy, and study under such and such a teacher,' and sent him to Takkaśīla.³ On his way thither he made friends with a great Thera, a disciple of the Master, heard him teach the Norm, took orders, and after due training won arahantship.

Now his father Bharadvāja heard the Exalted One teach the Norm at the Bamboo Grove Vihara, and he, too, left the world and realized arahantship. But Kanhadinna came to salute the Master at Rajagaha, and with joy he saw his father seated near the latter. And he asked himself 'My father, too, has gone forth. Has he, I

¹ *Pabbajjaṃ pabbajen* Cy

² A numerous gens but not reckoned of high rank (*Vinaya Texts*, iv 6). At least twenty individuals of this surname are met with in the Piṭakas.

³ The Taxila of Greek chroniclers a famous ancient seat of learning in Kashmir. See the numerous references in the *Jātaka*.

wonder, attained the end of the religious life? Then he discerned that his father was an arahant, and wishing to make him utter a lion-roar, asked him 'Hast thou succeeded in attaining the end of that for which we leave the world? Then Bharadvaja showed his attainment in these verses

Thus thus the enlightened lift their triumph song
 Like lions roaring in the hill ravine,¹
 Heroes who in the holy war have won,
 And conquered evil, Māra and his host (177)
 The servant of the blessed Master I,
 A votary of the Norm and Brotherhood,
 And glad and gratified my heart to see
 My son purged of the poisons sane, immune (178)

CL

Kanhadinna

Reborn in this Buddha age at Rajagaha, in a brahmin's family, he was named Kanhadinna. Come of age, and impelled by the efficient cause culminating he came to the General of the Norm,² heard the Norm, believed left the world, and developing insight won arahantship. There upon he thus declared annā

Wanted have I on saintly men and heard
 Full many times the saving truths [they taught]
 Hearing I knew I should attain the road
 That leads away from things that age and die³ (179)

¹ Of the introductory verses

² Sāriputta. We are left in doubt as to whether Kanhadinna is the son in the preceding story or not. If he is then the 'great' There he let was Sāriputta but in that case it is curious that the stories are not explicitly connected.

³ Lit: the ambrosial road according to the Commentary—the Eightfold Path. I knew I should is literally 'I shall [attain]'. He had already attained.

And so in me all lost to live again
 Thus being utterly cast out since then
 In me tis no more found nor wast, nor will it eer
 Come back in me, nor at this hour doth rise in me¹
 (180)

PART IV

CLI

Migasira

REBORN in this Buddha age in the family of a brahmin of Kosala, he was named Migasira² after the constellation under which he obtained birth. And having acquired brahmin culture, he practised the skull spell,³ so that, when he had muttered the spell and tapped with his nail on the skull, he would declare, 'This person is reborn in such a sphere,' even with respect to those who had been dead three years. Disliking domestic life, he became a Wanderer,⁴ and through his art won favour and respect. Coming to Savatthi and going before the Master, he declared his power, saying 'I, master Gotama, can tell the destiny of dead persons. How do you tell it? He let a skull be brought, and, muttering his rune and tapping with his nail, he asserted purgatory or some other sphere to be the place of rebirth.

Then the Exalted One had the skull of a bhikkhu brought, who had attained complete outgoing (*parinibbana*), and said 'Tell now his destiny to whom this skull belonged.' Migasira muttered and tapped, but saw neither the beginning nor the end. Then the Master said 'Art not able, Wanderer? He replied, 'I must first make sure,' and turning the skull round never so much—for how should he know the gongs of an arahant?⁵—stood ashamed,

¹ Either glosses have crept in, or the additional feet in the latter gāthā are intentional to pile on emphasis.

² Deer's head = Capricorn.

³ Cf. Vāṅgīsa's legend CCLXIV.

⁴ See Rhys Davids *Buddhist India* pp. 141-143. ⁵ Cf. verse 92.

perspiring, dumb 'Art tired, Wanderer?' 'Ay, I am tired, I cannot discern the destiny of this one Do you make it known?' 'I know it, and more besides He is gone to Nibbāna'¹ Then said the Wanderer 'Give me this hidden lore!' 'Then do you take orders' So Migasira was ordained, and was given exercises in calm Well grounded in jhana and abhiññā, he practised insight, and not long after won arahantship He then confessed aññā thus

Since I went forth and entered on the Rule
 Ordained by the Enlightened One Supreme,
 Emancipated as I went, I rose
 Transcending all these things of sense desire (181)
 While He, that Very Brahmin,² looked on me,
 O then my heart was set at liberty!³
 Yea, since all bonds are broke for evermore.
 'For me Emancipation's fixed and sure! (182)

CLII

Sivaka

Reborn in this Buddha age at Rajagaha in a brahmin's family, he was named Sivaka And when he had acquired a complete education, he followed his inclination to leave the world Coming as a Wanderer to hear the Master teach the Norm, he received faith, entered the Order, and eventually won arahantship He then thus confessed aññā

Transient the little houses [of our life],
 Built here, built there, again, ever again
 Hunting the house builder [thus far I come],
 Birth is but woe again, ever again (183)

¹ *Nibbanag gato so*, the only Pali approximation to the frequent rendering, 'entered into Nirvāna I have yet met with

² In the sense of chief best (Commentary) a genitor absolute

³ See *Sisters* verses 17, 81 116

Thou art found, house maker thou, thou art seen at
last!

Never again shalt fashion house [for me]!
Broken are all thy walls, shattered thy roofs
Stayed is the further rise of consciousness,
Blown 'twill be even here to nothingness! (184)

CLIII

Upavana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Upavāna. He saw at the Jeta Grove presentation the majesty of the Buddha, and entering the Order, prectised for ineight, and won sixfold ebhikkhā.

Now Upavana became attendant on the Exalted One.² And at that time the Exalted One was attacked by cramp And Devahita, a brahmin lay friend of the Thera, living at Sāvattihī, was supplying him with the four necessities. Seeing him come with bowl and robe, Devahita discerned that he needed something different and said 'Let your reverence be supplied. What do you need? And Upavana answered

The Arahant, the Well Come of all men,
The Holy Sage, he suffereth sore with wind
If there be any water heated here,
O give it to me, brahmin, for the Sage (185)
Revered by them to whom we reverence owe,
Cherished by them who claim our pious care,
Honoured by them to whom honour is due,
For Him I do beseech it may be brought (186)

¹ Legend has assigned these famous verses as the Buddha's first logion after his attainment of Buddhahood (*Bud. Birth Stories* p 103f, *Sum V* 1 16), but they do not occur in the canonical descriptions of that event (*cf* the slightly different *Āśāhā Dīp* 153-154 *SBE*, v 42, 2.) Dhammapāla is briefer than usual apparently ignorant of the tradition given in Buddhaghosa. He makes no allusion to it. The house builder, he points out is craving *tanku* i. e. *addhakā*.

² See CCLX. On the ailment of *Mūlinda* i 194 n 4

Thereat the brahmin offered both hot water and suitable medicine. Thereby the Master's sickness was healed, and to him the Exalted One rendered thanks.

CLIV

Isidinna.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the country of the Suna parantas,¹ in the family of a councillor, he was named Isidinna. Grown up, he saw the double miracle at the presentation of the Sandalwood Pavilion,² and coming with a satisfied mind to the Master, he heard the Norm and became a Stream winner. While still living a domestic life a compassionate spirit urged him, saying

I mark the pious laity who treasure on their lips the Norm,

How you may often hear them say 'Transient are all this world's desires'

But in their hearts lies love of self, of precious stones and jewelled rings,

And that which fills their thought is care of sons and daughters and of wives (187)

Nay, verily, they do not know the inward meaning of the Norm,

Even though you often hear them say 'Transient are all this world's desires'

To cut themselves from passions free they lack the spiritual health,

And therefore cleaveth aye their heart to wife and children, and to wealth (188)

When the layman heard this, he was thrilled with emotion, and leaving the world, he not long after won arahantship. In confessing añña, he repeated these verses

¹ Cf. LVY

² I cannot trace this legendary event elsewhere

CLV

Sambula-Kaccana

Reborn in this Buddha age in the kingdom of Magadhā, as the son of a burgess of the Kaccanas he was named Sambula, but was known as Sambula Kaccana¹ After he had heard the Master teach the Norm, and had entered the Order, he went to the neighbourhood of the Himalaya, and practised his insight exercises in a cave called Bhera-vayana ('dreadful passage')

Now one day there arose a great storm cloud out of season, towering high in the heavens, emitting roars of thunders, forked lightning, and rushing noise. And it began to rain, and thunderbolts burst. All creatures—bears, hyenas, buffaloes, elephants—cried out in fear and trembling. But the Thera had stirred up insight, and, careless as to body and life, heeded not the noise, but cooled by the storm so composed his mind, that he quickened insight, and won arhantship together with abhiñña.

Thereupon reflecting on his achievement he was filled with joy, and in a psalm confessed añña

Gods rain pours down, ay, and gods rain pours
down,

And I alone in fear some hollow dwell
Yet dwelling so in fearsome rocky dell
To me no fear comes nigh, no creeping dread
No quailing [of my soul] (189)

For such the law

Within the blessed Norm that dwelling so
To me no fear comes nigh, no creeping dread
No quailing [of my soul] to me alone² (190)

¹ There was need to distinguish him from other Kaccinas—cf CCXIV. In Phayre MS and Br Cy, Sampahula

² The metre in these graceful gāthās I cannot allocate under any of the textbook varieties. The words 'For such the Norm' are an expansion of the Suttanta term, *Dhammatā* (*manjāsā*)—Thā for me is Normness (cf *Dialogues*, II 8 n 3 my *Bud Harm*, p 119). *Detā* (god), the Commentary, as before, paraphrases with *meḍḍā* (cloud)

CLVI

Khītaka

Reborn in this Buddha age in the kingdom of Kosala as the son of a brahmin, and named Khītaka,¹ he heard the Norm from the Master, and entering the Order, dwelt in a forest till he won arahantship. Thereupon continuing in the bliss of fruition, of Nibbāna, a Thera enthusiastic for endeavour, he went to the bhikkhus dwelling in that forest to stir enthusiasm in them. First asking concerning their good, he spoke these verses, therein confessing añña

Whose heart stands like a rock, and awayeth not,
Void of all lust for things that lust beget,
And all unshaken in a shifting world?²
To heart thus trained, whence shall come aught of
ill? (101)

My heart stands like a rock, and awayeth not,
Void of all lust for things that lust beget,
And all unshaken in a shifting world
My heart thus trained—whence shall come ill to
me? (102)

CLVII

Soṇa Poṭṭiriyaputta

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of the zemindar³ Poṭṭiya, he was named Soṇa. Come of age, he became chief captain of the forces of Bhaddiya, a Sākya-rāja. Now Bhaddiya having left the world, as will be described below, Soṇa thought 'If even the rāja has left the world, what have I to do with domestic life?

¹ Identical with the author of CII?

² Lit. shakes not in that which tendeth to shake

³ On the position of a *bhojaka* holding land in fief see *Dialogues* 1. 108 n. 1, on Bhaddiya see CCLIV. Anupiya, in the Mallas territory, lay east of Kapilavatthu. On the vision of several of the first Sisters psalms

So he took orders, but remained sluggish, not given to meditative exercise. On him the Exalted One dwelling in the Mango Grove at Anapiya, sent forth his glory, and arousing him to mindfulness uttered admonitory verses

Nay, not for this that thou mayest slumber long
Cometh the night in starry garlands wreathed
For vigil by the wise this night is here (193)

Hearing him, Sona was exceedingly agitated, and keeping his shortcomings before the mind, adopted the open air practice, exercising himself for insight. And he uttered this verse

If in the fight my warrior-elephant
Advanced, 'twere better, fallen from his back,¹
Dead on the field [and trampled I should be]
Than beaten live a captive to the foe (194)

So saying, he stirred up insight and won arahantship and thereupon repeated the Master's words and his own as his confession of *anna*

CLVIII

Nisabha

Reborn in this Buddha age in the country of the Koliyans^{*} in a clansman's family, he was named Nisabha. Come of age, he saw the Buddha's wisdom and power at the fight between the Sakiyans and Koliyans, and believing, entered the Order, anon winning arahantship

Thereupon seeing a fellow bhikkhu spending his time

¹ The Commentary confirms the reading *avapatisa* (vide Neumann). The figure is a very natural one for an Indian soldier and its application is easy. Metaphors from warfare are less frequent in Buddhist than in Christian literature and the few contained in this work almost exhaust them. 'Trampled (by the elephant) is a Commentarial gloss

² A clan separated from the Sakyans by the River Rohini. Cf. C. COXXVIII

carelessly, he admonished him, adding another verse to show he acted that which he preached :

Put them away, those fivefold things of sense,
 Objects that charm and captivate the mind
 Thou who through faith didst give up home and
 world,
 Become end maker of its grief and pain. (195)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 With mind discerning and with heedfulness.¹ (196)

CLIX

Usabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Usabha. And when the Master visited his own folk,² Usabha saw his power and wisdom, believed in him, and entered the Order. From that time he fulfilled no religious duties, but passed all day in society and all night in sleep.

Now one day, muddled in mind and unheedingly dropping off to sleep, he dreamt that he shaved, put on a crimson cloak, and, sitting on an elephant, entered the town for alms. There, seeing the people gathered together, he dismounted full of shame. Thereupon he awoke thinking: 'Why, this was a dream! Muddled in head and thoughtless I saw myself in sleep.' And with anguish he established insight, and in due course won arahantship.

Thus having made the dream his goad, he celebrated it to confess aññā, saying :

A cloak the hue of purple mango buds
 Draping about my shoulder, I bestrode
 The back of elephant, and so to seek
 Mine alms into the village street I rode. (197)

¹ Cf. XX, and ver. 607.

² Cf. CCXXIII

Down from his back [in very shame] I slid—
 [When lo! I woke and] anguish seized me then.
 This arrogant self was then made meek and mild,
 Purged were the poisons [that my mind defiled] ¹ (198)

CLX

Kappaṭa-kura.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in poor circumstances, the only way he knew of to support himself was to go about, clad in rags, pan in hand, seeking for rice-grains ² Hence he became known as Kappaṭa-kura—'Rags-and-rice.' When grown up, he maintained himself by selling grass. Reaping this one day in the forest, he saw a Thera. Doing obeisance he sat down near him, and heard him teach the Norm. Then he believed, and saying 'What to me is this wretched mode of life?' he entered the Order, bestowing his ragged cloth in a certain place. And when repugnance [to his new life] arose in him, he would go and look at the rags and feel unsettled. So doing, he seceded seven times from the Order. Then the bhikkhus told the Exalted One of this. And he one day, when Kappaṭa-kura, as bhikkhu, sat in the preaching-hall at the edge of the congregation dozing, admonished him in these verses:

'These,' saith he, 'are the rags of Rags and-Rice!
 Too heavy is the gear I'm wearing now.'
 Full measure of the Norm hath he in shower
 Ambrosial; and yet no step he takes
 To practise contemplative discipline. (199)

¹ Another instance where the legend straightens out the tangle of the gāthā taken in isolation. What, e.g., had the elephant rider to do with 'to seek mine alms'? Dr. Neumann has been compelled to excise the phrase. As the anomaly of a dream, the little poem is quite clear 'Then . . . then' is a repetition copied from the text.

² Kura, occurring once as Lāra in the Commentary (= in Childers and in Bohtlingk and Roth, 'boiled rice'), is probably wild rice in some form or other. Cf. *saṅkha-lāra* in the Sutta-Vibhanga of the Vinaya, edition Oldenberg, iv., Pāc. 33, 1

O Kappata, thou shouldst not sway and nod,
 Nor make me cuff the word into thine ear.
 Never a whit thou, Kappata, hast learned,
 Sleepily swaying 'midst the listeners here.¹ (200)

Thus the Exalted One rebraided him strongly, as if He had pierced his very bones, as if a fierce elephant had gone down into his path. And he, greatly disturbed, established insight, and soon won arahantship. Thereupon he repeated the verses which had been the goad that sent him to the goal, so that they became his confession of aññā.

PART V

CLXI

Kumāra-Kassapa.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagahe, his mother was the daughter of a councillor. She having failed to gain her parents' consent to leave the world while yet a maiden, was married, and obtained her husband's consent to take Orders, not knowing at the time that she had conceived. When later the bhikkhunis saw her condition, they consulted Devadatta, who replied: 'She is no true nun!' They then consulted Him-of-the-Ten-Powers. He entrusted the matter to Thera Upālī, who convened certain residents at Sāvattī, including the lay-patroness Visākhā, and in full

¹ These verses remain not exactly the reverse of 'obscure sayings,' as Dr. Neumann calls them, even after the help of the legend. The Commentary, in both versions, is scarcely as lucid as usual, yet such explanation as it gives is, as ever, to show a situation of a simple and probable kind—the ragged lincloth, with its vagabond associations, supplying a Bohemian and pagan lure, making the more decorous yellow robes seem cumbersome, and the discipline irksome. The legend is a distinct addition to the 'human documents' of the Order's traditions.

iddhi-power¹ placed them unhurt upon the ground. And he taught them, saying:

The brother who while young hath given himself
Wholly to carry out the Buddha's plan,
Who keepeth vigil in a sleeping world,
Not vainly, not for naught he spends his days. (203)
So let the wise man, so let him who aye
Remembereth that which Buddhas have enjoined,
Devote himself to faith and righteousness,
To know the blessedness They brought to us,
And the true vision of the holy Norm.² (204)

CLXIII

Brahmāli.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Kosala, as a brahmin's son, he was named Brahmāli. When grown up, being impelled by the fulness of conditions, distress arose in him because of the continual round, and, through associating with spiritually minded friends, he left the world, and took his exercise to a forest. From the maturity of his knowledge he soon developed insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Dwelling thereafter in the bliss of the Paths, the Thera, so versed in compassing endeavour, uttered one day these verses, on behalf of the bhikkhus in that forest, concerning devotion to endeavour:

In whom the senses have been hushed to calm,
Like horses well tamed by the charioteer,
In whom no vain conceits are found, nor aught
Of poison-fumes survives, a man like this
May stir up envy e'en among the gods. (205)

¹ *Compendium*, pp 60 ff., 209

² The literal Pali of these two lines is the two very pregnant terms *pasāday* (expressing relief, satisfaction, trust) and *dhammadassanay* (insight into or through the Dhamma).



A BURMESE NOVICE

From *Burma* Bazaar, December 1, 1913

The Brother who while young hath given him a life
Willing to carry out the Buddha's plan

In me the senses have been hushed to calm,
 Like horses well tamed by the charioteer,
 In me no vain conceits are found, nor aught
 Of poison fumes survives;—one such as I
 May stir up envy e'en among the gods.¹ (200)

CLXIV

Mogharājan.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin's family, and named Mogharājan,² he studied under the brahmin Bāvariya. Growing distressed, he became an ascetic. He was one of the sixteen, Ajita and others, who was sent by Bāvariya to the Master to interview him.³ When Mogharājan had asked his question and been answered, he attained arahantship.

Thereafter he acquired distinction by wearing rough cloth which caravaners, tailors and dyers had thrown away. Wherefore the Master assigned him the first place among those who wore such rough clothing [he thereby realizing his aspiration made many ages ago].⁴

At another time, from want of care and through former karma, pimples and the like broke out and increased on his body. Judging that his lodging was infected, he spread out a couch of straw in the Magadha fields, and there, though it was winter, he lodged. Of him, waiting one day

he first gāthā is found in the *Dhammapada*, verse 94, spoken, according to the Commentary (ii. 176 f), by the Buddha concerning Moggallāna. Cf. below, CCXXIX.

This curious name (= futile king) seems to be nowhere explained. The one so named in *Samy Nik*, i. 23, seems to be a *deva*, but a *deva* by a Mogharāja. There in *Mahāva*, ii. 353, is one of those not incorporated in this Canon.

² See *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 976-1031, 1116-1119. Cf. also XX (Ajita), and the varied 'Bāvari,' 'Bāvariya-brahmano'

⁴ *Ang Nik*, i. 25

In me the senses have been hushed to calm,¹
 Like horses well tamed by the charioteer,
 In me no vain conceits are found, nor aught
 Of poison-fumes survives;—one such as I
 May stir up envy e'en among the gods.² (206)

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⁴ *Ang Nik*, i. 25.

upon the Master, and paying his respects, the latter of his courtesy inquired in the following verse

Well, Mogharājan thou skin sufferer,
Thou blest of heart and constantly serene
Cometh the time when winter nights are cold,
And thou a brother poor—how wilt thou fare? (207)

Thus asked, the Thera explained the matter to the Master

Rich are the cornfields of the Magadhese,¹
And thriving every one, I've heard it said
My little straw built canopy doth please
Better than others way of finding ease (208)

CLV

Visakha the Pāṇcalis Son

Reborn in this Buddha age in the kingdom of Magadha as the son of a district raja, he was named Visakha. But because he was the son of the daughter of the king of the Pāṇcalas,² he became known afterwards as the Pāṇcalis son

At his father's death he succeeded to his title but when the Master came to his neighbourhood he went to hear him, and believed, and left the world. Following him to Savatthi, he established insight, and acquired sixfold abhinna.

Thereupon, in kindness to his own folk, he visited his native place. And as people kept coming to hear him, he was one day asked 'How many qualities, your reverence, should a man acquire to be a preacher of the Norm? The

¹ On the large fields of Magadha see my 'Early Economic Conditions in Northern India, *JRAS* 1901, p. 860. *Khetta* the collective singular has here become *khetiani* but cf p. 153.

² An ancient kingdom lying to the east of the Kurus whose capital was where Delhi stands (*Bud India*). Pronounced Panchāla.

danced around The touch of the storm breeze brought coolness and comfort to the Thera in his cavern lodge, so that with a suitable temperature his mind became concentrated He entered the avenue of his exercise, and, discerning that the favourable moment was come, he praised his practice, breaking out in these verses

Hark ! how the peacocks make the welkin ring,
Fair crested, fine their plumes and azure throat,
Graceful in shape and pleasant in their cry
And see how this broad landscape watered well
Lies verdure-clad beneath the dappled sky' (211)

Healthy thy frame and fit and vigorous
To make good progress in the Buddha's rule
Come then and grasp the rapt thought of the
saint,¹

And touch the crystal bright the subtly deep,
The elusive mystery—even the Way
Where dying cometh not ineffable (212)

And so the Thera admonishing himself, attained under reasonable conditions to mental concentration and evoking insight won arahantship Thereupon reviewing what he had wrought, with zest and joy he repeated those lines as the confession of aññā

CLXVII

Anupama.

Reborn in this Buddha age in a wealthy family at Kosala his beauty obtained him the name of Anūpama—'Peerless' Come of age, he felt the working of the efficient cause, forsook the world, and dwelt in the forest

¹ *Sumanassa* paraphrased by *sundaramanassa yogavacarassa* Come ' 'grasp touch are expansions of the Pali *phusāhi*, the last of the three verbs The long-drawn out Jagatī metre of the two gāthās relies on iteration of the adaptable prefix *su* (Greek *eu*)—good fair well—to convey intense gladness.

practising for insight But his mind hovered about external objects, revolving about his theme for meditation so that he thus rebuked himself

O heart! gono gadding after things that please,
 O thou that shapest many a shaft of doom,
 Thero and thero only dost thou ever tend
 Where block and stake rise at the bitter end (213)
 I call thee, heart, the breaker of my luck!
 I call thee, heart, despoiler of my lot!
 Lo! He whom many an ago thou couldst not find,
 The Master now is come—suffer it not
 That I to wreck and ruin be consigned¹ (214)

Thus admonishing his own consciousness the Thera developed insight, and won arahantship

CLVIII

Vajjita.

Reborn in this Buddha age in a wealthy Kosalan family, after deceasing from the Brahma world, he ever wept in his mother's arms. And because he could not endure the touch of a woman, he came to be called Vajjita—'abstaining'. Come of age, he saw the Master work the twin miracle² and believing he entered the Order, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon remembering his former existence, he was stirred with holy emotion, and said

A traveller I these long, long ages past,
 And round about the realms of life I've whirled,
 One of the many folk and blind as they,
 No Ariyan truths had I the power to see (215)

¹ This eloquent poem is a miniature version of Tālapuṭa's long drawn-out apostrophe to his *chitta* (CCLXII). The Commentary identifies *Kaliy* with *Kālakaṃṇā*, goddess of ill luck. The last words of the text should of course be understood as *ma anattā*, etc.

² Cf p. 38 n. 1

But earnestly I strove for light and calm ;
 And now all shattered lies the endless way.
 All future bournes abolished utterly,
 Now cometh never more rebirth for me. (216)

And this became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CLXIX

Sandhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family of Kosala and named Sandhita, he heard, when come of age; a sermon on impermanence, and this alarmed him so that he entered the Order. Through the maturity of his knowledge he established insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Recalling his own former life, how after the passing away of Sikkhi Buddha he had worshipped at the Bo-tree and acquired discernment of impermanence,¹ he declared his winning of the goal, by that efficient cause, in these verses :

Beneath the tree—the holy Bodhi-tree—
 Clad in the glory of its vernal green,
 To me musing and mindful came a thought—
 A Buddha-burdened thought. (217)

'Tis one and thirty years since it came.
 Natheless so fruitful proved that thought in me,
 By dint thereof o'er the intoxicants
 The victory is wrought! (218)

¹ In lamenting that he only heard of that Buddha just as he had passed away On Sikkhi, see *Dialogues*, ii 6 'Bodhi tree' is *assatthe*, or the species of fig tree which was Gotama Buddha's Bo-tree. Sikkhi was a kind of mango (see Childers's *Pundarik*) and the Commentary is at some pains to explain that *assattha* had come to stand for Bo tree associations in general. 'Thought'—*saññā*, *aperçu*—is repeated thrice in the text.

CANTO III

PSALMS OF THREE VERSES

CLXX

*Anganika-Bhāradvāja.

Reborn in this Buddha age near the Himalaya, at the city of Ukkattha,¹ in the family of a very rich brahmin, he was named Anganika-Bhāradvāja.² And when he had learned all Vedic lore and art, his inclination for renunciation induced him to leave the world and carry on penance for salvation.³ Wandering here and there, he met the Buddha Supreme on a country tour, and with satisfied mind heard him teach. Leaving his false ascetics, he took orders, and practising for insight, in due course acquired sixfold abhūññā.

Abiding thereafter in the bliss of liberty, he took compassion on his kinsfolk, and visited and taught them in the Refuges and the Precepts, then leaving them, he went to dwell in a forest near the village of Kundiya of the Kurus.⁴

¹ On this upland town (= "lofty"), see *Dialogues* i. 106. A road connected it with Setavyā (*sup.*, p. 67, *Ang.*, ii. 37) and with Vesālī (*Jit.*, ii. 239, text).

² There are about nineteen Bhāradvājas (a gens name) mentioned in the Pīṭakas. This one is not met with elsewhere.

³ That which, in the text, is *amaray tapay* (penances . for heaven) is, in the Commentary, rendered *amatatapay amatay tapay*. The difference etymologically, is that between 'undying' and 'not dead'. Both refer, probably, to reunion with the gods, as attainable by the penance of the five fires etc. See *sup.*, p. 120, and *Dialogues*, i. 211.

⁴ This will not be the Kundiya of the Kolujas (*Udāna*, ii. 6, *Jit.*, i. No 100). Uggāyāma is possibly the place Uggā of LXXX.

Going for some purpose to Uggāyāma, he was accosted by some brahmin acquaintances, who said: 'Master Bhāradvāja, what have you seen that you have left the brahmin communion for this community?' And he, showing that outside the Buddha's church there was no pure rule, said:

Purity without principle my quest,
 Whon in the grove I fostered sacred fire.
 Painful the penances I wrought for heaven,
 All ignorant of purity's true path. (219)
 This happiness by happy ways is won—
 O see the seemly order of the Norm!¹
 The threefold wisdom have I gotten now,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (220)
 Once but a son of brahmins born was I,²
 To-day I stand brahmin in very deed,
 Versed in the triple lore and graduate,³
 By sacramental bathing consecrate. (221)

Then those brahmins hearing him, expressed enthusiastic appreciation of the Sāsana.

CLXXI

Paccaya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the city of Rohi, in a nobelman's family, he was named Paccaya.⁴ Inheriting the estate at his father's death, he decreed to hold a great ceremonial oblation, and a great assembly foregathered.

¹ Cf. LXIII.

² Cf. XXIV. He is addressing either the Norm or himself, says the Commentary, omitting the more probable 'or the brahmins'

³ Cf. p. 222, also the very similar lines, *Sisters*, verse 251 and note

⁴ The Commentary finds Sāsana equivalents for all these terms of Vedic tradition.

⁵ Neither rāja nor city is found elsewhere. Pacchāyā (pronounce thus) was the name of the elephant of Vessantara, a Sākya ancestor (*Jat.*, vi. 485, text)

At that congress, the Master, seated on a throne in a jewelled pavilion made by (his ancestor) Vessavana,¹ taught the Norm, while all the people gazed at him. Even the great multitude understood the doctrine, but rāja Paccaya went further. For impelled by earlier causes, he renounced his estate and left the world. And even as he had vowed in Kassapa Buddha's time, so now, entering his cell, he vowed to attain before he left it again. And now at last, insight growing, and knowledge attaining full maturity, he attained arahantship.

Thereupon, celebrating his achievement, he thus confessed aññā:

Five days have now gone by since I went forth,
 A learner, and my mind not perfected.²
 Then in the heart of me within my cell
 Retired uprose unfaltering resolve: (222)
 I will not eat nor will I drink again,
 Nor from this lodging let me issue forth,
 Nor will I even lie upon my side,
 While yet the dart of Craving lies undrawn.³ (223)
 Thus steadfast I abiding—O behold
 And mark the forward stride of energy:
 In Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done! (224)

CLXXII

Bākula.

Born at Kosambī in a councillor's family before our Exalted One appeared, he was being bathed for his health in the Great-Yamunā River,⁴ when a fish swallowed him.

¹ Cf. p. 182 n. 1 J. J., xi. 265 ff. (text).

² A phrase of the Nikāyas (*Majjh.*, i. 4, *Samy.*, i. 121, v. 145).

³ A resolve enjoined on learners (*Majjh.*, i. 40, *Ang.*, i. 50, *Samy.*, ii. 28).

⁴ The Jumna. Kosambī was near the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges (at Allahabad). Bākula's or Bakkula's story is given in the

out of the nurse's hands. The fish was caught by an angler and sold to the wife of a Benares councillor. When it was split open, the child through the might of his merit appeared unhurt. The wife cherished him as her son, and when she heard his story, asked him of his parents. The king decided they should have him in common, hence he was named Hā-kula ('two-families,' *li-tin*).

After a prosperous life he heard the Master preach, and left the world at eighty years of age. For seven days he remained unenlightened, but as the eighth dawned he attained arahantship, together with thorough mastery of the letter and spirit of the doctrine.¹

One day the Master, when assigning manifold eminence to his disciples, ranked Hākula foremost for good health.² Thereafter he, when about to pass away, confessed añña in the midst of the Brethren thus:

He who is fain to-morrow to perform
The things that he should yesterday have done,
Forfeit of happy opportunity,
He shall anon repent him fiercely.³ (225)
Let him but talk of that which should be done;
Let him not talk of what should not be done!
Of him who talketh much, but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
• worth.⁴ (226)

Anguttara-Nikāya Commentary and in the *Singhalese Comy. of Milinda* (ii, 10, n. 2). His legend tells of his having healed two Buddhas in former births. Morris's discussion of *lakṣaṇa* in another connection (*JPTS*, 1880, p. 93 ff) explains the word as a *proper name* no better than does the mythical story.

¹ See *Sisters*, p. 17 n. The poem is repeated (CLXXXIV)

² *Ang Nik*, I, 25; there called *Ḍāḍḍa*. Presumably his great age lent point to the distinction.

³ *Anutappas*, lit., proceed to be hot about. Our metaphor is bite (*remorse*) or pricking (of conscience).

⁴ Expanded from the two words *pariyantā paṇḍitā*, the wise understand. The Commentary's expansion is 'they fixing [him] accurately know, do not esteem highly'.

O great, O wondrous is Nibbāna's bliss,
 Revealed by Him, the Utterly Awake!
 There comes no grief, no passion, haven sure,
 Where ill and ailing perish evermore! (227)

CLXXIII

Dhaniya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a potter's family and named Dhaniya, he practised the potter's craft. It was at his house that the Master taught Pukkusāti the noble the Sutta of the System of Elements¹ Dhaniya, hearing of Pukkusāti dying as an arahant [that very night], thought. 'Mighty to guide verily is the Buddha-sāsana, wherein a single night suffices to release a man from the sorrows of rebirth!' So he entered the Order. But he continued to occupy himself with making tiles for roofs.² Reproved for making a clay hut by the Exalted One, he took up his abode in a bhikkhu's lodging, and there won arahantship.

Thereafter, on the occasion of admonishing bhikkhus who, as self-mortifying, held themselves superior to others, he confessed aññā thus:

If one in the recluse's discipline
 Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
 Let him not scorn the Order's uniform,
 Nor hold in disrespect its food and drink. (228)

If one in the recluse's discipline
 Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
 Let him frequent a shelter like the lair
 Of watersnake or mouse [primitive, bare]³ (229)

¹ 'Dhātuvibhanga sutta,' *Majjh Nik.*, in 231 ff., where the potter's name is not mentioned Cf. above LCVII, and my *Buddham*, 1912

² Dhaniya's skill in brick making clay work red as the *indago pala* (cf. verse 13), and giving a bell like sound when tapped, is described, in this connection, in *Vinaya*, in 41 f

³ Commentary 'the hole of the moment, where he can go in and out at will'

Then the angel informed the Sangha of the Thera's advent:

One of the Brethren who in Patna dwell,
Learned and eloquent, lo! at the door,
Advanced in years, he stands borne by the
winds.¹ (235)

Then the Sangha giving him opportunity, the Thera
approached them and confessed aññā:

Good fight he made, and made good sacrifice,²
And in the battle won:—now by such war,
The fervent following of the holy life,
In happiness he resteth [evermore] (236)

CLXXVI

Vāraṇa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala as a brahmin's son, he was named Vāraṇa. Come of age, he heard a Thera preach the Norm in a forest, and believing, entered the Order. One day going to wait upon the Buddha he saw, on the way, a family quarrel, through which some were slain. Distressed, he hastened to the Exalted One, and told him. And the latter, discerning the progress of his mind, exhorted him, saying:

Whoso here causeth fellow-creatures pain,
From this and from the other-world, from both
This man may forfeit all they yield of good³ (237)
Whoso with loving heart compassion takes
On every fellow-creature, such a man
Doth generate of merit ample store. (238)

¹ His aerial return from Ānanda to the Sangha.

² *Sayittrena* (which comes more naturally from a lapsed brahmin than the martial epithets) the Commentary explains as 'religious gifts from virtuous friends'. The metre of the poem is disturbed by two glosses *samaṇā* and *dhāre*.

³ The last phrase from the Commentary, 'the good and happiness comprised in both worlds'.

Train ye yourselves in pious utterance
 In waiting ever on the wise and good
 In haunting secret solitary *śrēt*
 And in the calm and concentrated mind (219)

When these verses were ended, Varana developing insight
 won arahantship

CLXXVII

Passika

Reborn in this Buddha age in the family of a keśalan
 brahmin, he saw the Master work the twin miracle,¹ and
 believe! Entering the Order he fell ill while performing
 the studies of a recluse. His own people attended him
 and healed him. But he, greatly stirred by his recovery,
 pressed forward his study and acquired sixfold *abhiññā*.
 Thereupon he went through the air to his own people and
 established them in the Refuge and the Precepts. And
 some of his kin so established died and were reborn in
 heaven. When Passika waited on the Master the latter
 asked after the health of his kin. And Passika thus made
 answer

Though I alone among unbelieving kin
 Had faith and wit enough discerned the Norm
 And clove to virtue this was for their good (210)

For so! mine own folk, whom for pity's sake
 I took to task, roused and rebuked by me
 Through their affection and their piety
 Constrained towards the Brethren wrought good
 work (211)

They who are now gone hence ending this span
 They reap much happiness among the gods
 Brothers of mine are there my mother too
 Fain for the pleasures that they now enjoy (212)

¹ See p. 36 r. 1

and declared he himself would wait upon him. The Thera told the matter in these verses:

The trust thou once didst place in me,
 To-day it lives no more. What's thine is thine;
 But in this house no evil have I done. (216)
 Transient and wavering is the layman's faith;—
 So have I marked. Folk love and then grow cold,
 Why for that should a holy brother die? (217)
 Cooked stands the sage's food a little here,
 A little there, in one clan or the next.
 I will go round to seek my little alms;
 My legs are strong enough forsooth for that.¹ (218)

CLXXX

Upālī.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a barber's family, he was named Upālī. Come of age he left the world, following Anuruddha and the other five nobles, when the Exalted One was staying at Anupiyā Grove, as is recorded in the Pali.² Now when he was taking a subject for exercise from the Master, he said. 'Send me not away, Lord, to dwell in the forest' 'Bhikkhu, you dwelling in the forest, will develop one subject³ only; if you dwell with us, you will become proficient in both book-knowledge⁴ and insight.' The Thera, consenting to the Master's word, practised for insight, and in due time won arahantship.

¹ This little poem, so simply explained by the Commentary, has for lack of it been twisted into a limping dialogue on Karma, etc., between two bhikkhus. See Neumann, *in loc*

² See the charming episode, *Vinaya Texts*, in 224-230

³ *Dhūray*

⁴ *Gantha*, Br *ganḍha-dhūray*. With this cf *Dīgha Nikāya*, in 94 *ganṭhe karanta*. Dhammapāla, of course, had palm-leaf manuscripts in mind and a written *Vinaya*, whereas, in Upālī's case, the Master would probably teach him orally (*uggahapesi*), though heads or subject-words may then have been committed to writing

Moreover, the Master himself taught him the whole Vinaya-Piṭaka. And later, after Upāh had won the Master's commendation of his decision in the three cases of Ajṇaka, the Kurukacchaka bhikkhu and Kumāra-Kaśapa, he was ranked first among those who knew the Vinaya.¹

One feast-day, when he was reciting the Pātimokkha,² he thus admonished the brethren

He who for faith's sake³ hath renounced the world,

And stands a novice in the Order now,
Friends let him choose of noble character,
Pure in their lives, of zeal unflinching (219)

He who for faith's sake hath renounced the world,
And stands a novice in the Order now,
Among the Order let that bhikkhu dwell,
And wisely⁴ learn its code of discipline (250)

He who for faith's sake hath renounced the world,
And stands a novice in the Order now,
Skilled in what should be done, or left undone,
Let him unaccompanied hold on his way. (251)

¹ See *Vinaya*, iii 66, 89, and above CLXI respectively. These are but a tithe of the cases recorded as settled by this notable Dean. Cf. XLV, p. 60, n. 2.

² This—the 'Rules of Disburdenment'—constituted, and still constitutes, a fortnightly ritual (*Vinaya Texts* i 1-69).

³ Commentary: *sc.* either not in order to gain a living, or believing in the fruit of action and in the excellence of the Gem Trinity (Buddha, Norm, Order). Upāh's own beginning was not so single-minded, he having joined precisely in order to protect his life. The young nobles gave him their effects to take home, and he, fearing that the Sākyaans might suspect him of murder, hung up the bundle on a tree and followed them.

⁴ *Budho*. The Commentary interprets *buddhā ti ca pathan ti*, *so ev' attho*. The iteration 'novice . . . new' is in the text.

CLXXXI

- Uttarapāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī in a brahmin family, he was named Uttarapāla,¹ He saw the Twin Miracle,² and believing, entered the Order, and pursued his studies. One day, amid desultory recollections, sensual desires beset him, but after a violent mental struggle, he arrested the corrupting moods (*kilesa's*), and in earnest meditation won arahantship.

Thereupon reflecting on his victory, he uttered a 'lion-roar':

Me seeming wise, forsooth, and spent enough
 In pondering on the things that make for good,
 Me overthrew fivefold desires of sense,
 Bowilderers [of the reason] of the world. (252)
 Though lodged in Māra's reach, by mighty dart
 Assailed, yet did my strength suffice to win
 From snare set by the King of Death release (253)
 Now are all sense-desires put far away!
 Now are all rebirths shattered once for aye!
 Destroyed is birth-and-death's eternity!
 Now cometh nevermore rebirth for me! (254)

CLXXXII

Abhibhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a rāja's family at the city of Veṭṭhapūra,³ he was named Abhibhūta, and succeeded to the estate at his father's death. Now when the Exalted

¹ = Guardian of the North

² See p. 36, n. 1.

³ No other mention of place or rāja is yet traced, but the four middle lines are, in *Saṃy Nik*, i. 156, put in the mouth of one Abhibhu, who was a bhikkhu in the age of Sakhi Buddha, according to a story told by Gotama Buddha

One arrived at his city on tour, Abhibhūta he went to hear him, and on the morrow offered him hospitality. The Exalted One expressed the thanks he felt, and thereupon taught him the Norm more in detail. Then the rājs found faith, left his estate for the Order, and realized arahantship.

While he was dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, his kindred, councillors and retainers came to him lamenting that he had left them without a chief. And he, teaching them the Norm by way of extolling the reason of his renunciation, said:

Hear, O ye kinsmen, and give ear to me,
 All and as many as are gathered here!
 The Norm it is that ye shall learn from me:—
 Painful is birth again and yet again! (255)
 Bestir yourselves, rise up, renounce and come,
 And yield your hearts unto the Buddha's Rule.
 Shake off the armies of the King of Death
 As doth the elephant n hut of straw.¹ (256)
 Whoso within this righteous discipline
 Shall come with diligence to understand.
 Rebirth's eternal round put far away,
 All pain and suffering he shall end for aye² (257)

CLXXXIII

Gotama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Sākiyan clan, he came to be known only by his gens name. He found faith when the Master visited his kinsfolk, and entering the Order and studying for insight, acquired sixfold abhiñña. Now, while

¹ Cf. verse 1147

² These last eight lines are elsewhere assigned to the Buddha, four by Nāgasena (*Milinda*, ii 60), and four in the Book of the Great Decease (*Dialogues*, ii 128). The former is also so assigned in *Kathā Vatthu*, ii 3, and in *Dṛṣṭavadāna*, p 300, but to the gods (*ibid*, p 369) and to the bhikkhu Abhibhu in *Saṃy Nik*, i. 156 f.

he was dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, his kinsfolk asked him one day why he had put them aside and gone forth. And he, to show both the ill he had suffered in *Saṃsāra* and the happiness of *Nibbāna* which he then had gotten, said :

Lo! as I fared through being, I came to the kingdom
infernal,
So to the dolorous realm of the *Petas*, times without
number.
Evil² befell me again in manifold shapes of the
beast-world. (258)
Glad enough reborn as human, rarely I won to the
heavens.
Yea, in the realms of vision, in realms where all
sense was abolished
Have I been placed, and in realms 'twixt consciousness
and the unconscious.² (259)
All this becoming lies clearly before me as void of
real value,
Born of preceding conditions, unstable and constantly
drifting.
So comprehending the coming to be of this self of
me, heedful,
Came I at length to find Peace, yea, the Peace
(wherein I am re-ting). (260)

CLXXXIV

Harita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at *Sāvattthi* in a brahmin family, he fell into the habit, from pride of birth, of calling ~~himself~~ ^{himself} low-born. Even after he had heard the Normed and entered the Order, he persisted from the

cumulative force of the habit. But one day, after hearing the Master preach, he reviewed his own mental procedure, and was distressed to mark the surrender to conceit and arrogance. Expelling it all, he conjured up insight and won arahantship. Thereafter, dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he testified to añña in thus admonishing the bhikkhus :¹

He who is fain to-morrow to perform
The things that he should yesterday have done,
Forfeit of happy opportunity,
He shall anon repent him fiercely (261)
Let him but talk of that which should be done,
Let him not talk of what should not be done!
Of him who talketh much but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
worth (262)
O great, O wondrous is Nibbana's bliss,
Revealed by Him, the Utterly Awake!
There comes no grief, no passion, heaven sure,
Where ill and unhing perish evermore! (263)

CLXXXV

Vimala

Reborn in this Buddha age at Benares in a brahmin family, he entered the Order under Thera Amita,² and through his instigation acquired insight and won arahantship. Thereupon he admonished a bhikkhu who was his comrade as follows

From evil minded friends keep far away,
And make thy choice among the best of men

Harita's psalm is identical with Bakul's (CLXXXII). Cf also the Harita of XXX also a brahmin of Sivatha

¹ Oñña is curious name (= Amita) cf Jāt. vi 27

CANTO IV

PSALMS OF FOUR VERSES

CLXXXVI

Nāgasamāla.

REBORN in this Buddha-age in a clan of Sākiyan rājas, he made the perishableness of life his principle, and, conjuring up insight, attained arahantship. He thereupon testified to aññā, as occurring in his own experience, thus:

Bedecked with trinkets and with pretty frock,
Wreathed with flowers, raddled with sandal
wood,

In the main street, before the multitude
A nautch girl danced to music's fivefold sound.¹ (267)

Into the city I had gone for alms,
And passing I beheld the dancer decked
In brave array, like snare of Māra laid. (268)

Thereat arose in me the deeper thought:²
Attention to the fact and to the cause.

The misery of it all was manifest;
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed. (269)

¹ The five instruments usually grouped as *suraya* are three sorts of tom-toms, cymbals (?), and pipe or flute. 'Nautch girl' is *nari*—lit. woman—and *nat*(ali, dancer.

² *Yoniso manasikāro*. The Commentary paraphrases by analyzing the sight of that which was intended to appeal to sense and emotion. Distaste,* etc. Cy. has *sampatikkhā'th* . . . *kaḍḍay* is *saḍḍh* is.

And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm!
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done.¹ (270)

CLXXXVII

Bhagu.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Sākiyan rājas, he left the world, together with his clansmen, Anuruddha and Kimbila, and dwelt by the village of Bālakslona.² And one day, when he had left his cell to discipline his tendency to sloth and torpor, he fell as he was stepping up on to the terrace. Using this as his goad,³ he accomplished self-mastery, and developing insight, he won arshantship. Thereupon, as he was living in the bliss of fruition, the bliss of Nibbāna, the Master, coming to congratulate him on his solitude, asked him: 'How now, bhikkhu, do you continue in earnest?' And he assenting, replied:

Foredone by drowth I gat me from my cell
 For exercise, and climbed the terrace-steps,
 And fell thereby all drowsy to the earth. (271)
 Chafing my limbs, once more I mounted up;
 And while on terrace to and fro I went,
 Within 'twas all alert, composed, intent. (272)
 Thereat arose in me the deeper thought:
 Attention to the fact and to the cause. . . .

¹ It is not possible to be sure that this Nāgasamāla is the Thera so named who was occasionally the Buddha's attendant on his walks. Cf. CCLX, *Majjh Nik.*, i. 43, *Udāna*, viii. 7, *Jat.*, iv. 95.

² On these see above (CXVIII, n. 4) and below (CCLVI). The visit by the Buddha, without the incident of the tumble, is recorded, *Majjh Nik.*, iii. 154, *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 309, where the village has '-kīra' added to its name. Cf. *Jat.*, i. No. 10; *Milinda*, i. 163. The village was a suburb of Kosambi on the Jumna.

³ Cf. *Sisters*, xvii.

The misery of it all was manifest;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed; (273)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm!
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (274)

This was the Thera's confession of aññā.

CLXXXVIII

Sabbhiya.

In the time of our Exalted One he took rebirth as the son of a nobleman's daughter, whose parents had committed her to the charge of a Wanderer, that she might learn other doctrines and usages. Sabbhiya, when grown up, also became a Wanderer, and learning various recitations, became a great dialectician, and found none to equal him. Making his hermitage by the city gate, he gave lessons to the children of noblemen and others, and devised twenty questions, which he asked recluses and brahmins. In the narrative to the Sabbhiya-Sutta it is handed down, that a Brahmā got from the Pure Abodes devised the questions.¹ There, too, it is told how the Exalted One, when he came to Rajagaha, to the Bamboo Grove, so answered the questions, that Sabbhiya believed on him, and entering the Order, established insight and won arahantship.

But after this it was in admonishing the bhikkhus who sided with the seceding Devadatta that he spoke these verses:

People can never really understand
 That we are here but for a little spell.²

¹ See *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 510-547. Of the verses here ascribed to Sabbhiya, 275, 277 = *Dhammapada*, verses 6, 312, verse 6 being there, as in *Vān. Texts*, ii. 306 f., put into the mouth of the Buddha addressing the quarrelsome Kosambi bhikkhus.

² 'People': 'All except the wise.' Cy. Line 2 'We walk constantly near to Death.' (Cy) This reading is vindicated by the opposed. 'as they immortals were,' next verse.

But they who grasp this truth indeed,
 Suffer all strife and quarrels to abate. (275)
 And whereas they who cannot understand,
 Deport themselves as they immortals were,
 They who can really understand the Norm
 Are as the hale amid a world diseased.¹ (276)
 All flaccid action, all corrupted rites,
 All mischief-making in religious life :
 On all such work follows no high reward. (277)
 He who among his fellow-brethren wins
 No reverence is far from the good Norm,
 As is the firmament far from the earth. (278)

CLXXXIX

Nandaka.

Reborn in the time of our Exalted One at Sāvattthī in a clansman's family, he was called Nandaka. He entered the Order after hearing the Master teach the Norm, and developing insight won arahantship. Thereafter, while dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he gave a lesson by the Master's order one feast-day to the bhikkhunis, and caused 500 of them to attain arahantship. Wherefore the Exalted One ranked him foremost among the exhorters of the brethren and sisters.²

Now, one day, while seeking alms in Sāvattthī, a woman, to whom he had been married, saw him and laughed with

¹ This line = *Dharmapada*, verse 198 (half the sloka). It is interesting to note that the Commentary on verse 6 of the *Dhammapada* is verbatim the same as that by *Dhammapāla*, while that on verse 312 is nearly so.

² *Ang.*, i. 25. The successful lesson is told in the Nandakovāda Sutta (*Mayh.*, iii. 270). The *Anguttara* Commentary leads up to that Sutta, but the occasion of these verses finds a fuller pretace in the story it tells of Nanda, the Buddha's stepbrother (CLXXXIX). He, infatuated with a beautiful woman, is by the Master shown the nymphs in Sakka's heaven, and finds her plain as an ape in comparison.

sinful heart. The Thera, seeing her action, taught her the Norm under the aspect of emphasizing repugnance at the body, thus :

Fie on the fulsome thing malodorous !
 A very tool of Māra, oven this,
 Thy body, whence exude those many streams,
 In number nine, that never cease their flow. (279)
 Build no conceits from former passages.
 Try not to allure the Elect-who-Thus-have-Come !¹
 The very heavens delight them not, how then
 Should aught that's merely earthly ever please ?² (280)
 The fools who lack discretion, they whose mind
 Is sullied, and their heart by dulness cloaked,
 Such men in charms of body take delight,
 For they are fast in bonds by Māra thrown. (281)
 To them who are untouched by lust, or hate,
 Or ignorance, these things no pleasures be.
 Cut are the cords ; they from all bonds are free. (282)

CXC

Jambuka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a very poor family, he inclined, as in a previous birth, to feeding on excrement, and left the world to be a naked ascetic. Practising many austerities, and eating beans one by one on the point of a straw, he was fifty-five years old when the Exalted One, seeing the conditions of arahantship shining within his heart like a lamp in a jar, himself went to him, and teach-

¹ *Tathāgate*, made here by the Commentary to include all Buddha-sāvakas, or Ariya savakas, who have 'come' with the conditions for saintship, or have attained the highest, are *atābuddhā*.

² I do not here follow Dr Neumann's syntax. The woman's power to please humans was a source of danger. She was only incapable of moving *tathagatas*, or saints, who have won ineffable pleasures.

ing him the Norm, converted him. Then said he : 'COME, *ṇṇikkhu!*' thereby ordaining him.¹ And Jambuka thereupon conjuring up insight, the Master established him in arahantship. This is in outline, but a full account is given in the Commentary on the Dhammapada verse :

*Bean after bean by point of straw. . . .*²

At the hour of his passing away he showed that, though once wrongly living, he, by leaning on the Buddha Supreme, had gotten where a disciple ought to get, thus :

For five and fifty years covered with dust
And dirt, eating a dinner once a month,³
And pulling out my hair from head and face, (283)
On one leg would I stand, I used no couch,
Dry dung I ate, nor would accept when bid. (284)
So wrought I actions leading to much woe
And ruin, swopt along by mighty flood,
Till I a refuge in the Buddha found :— (285)
O see how to that Refuge I am come!
O see the seemly order of the Norm!
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids me do is done (286)

CXCI

Senaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family, as the son of the sister of the Thera Kassapa of Uruvelā, he was named Senaka.⁴ When he had learnt the brahmins' Vedic

¹ See p 105, n. 2

² Verse 70 (*Commentary*, II, 52-63) The literary reference is of interest, but it does not enable us to say that the *Dhammapada Commentary* referred to is positively that which we now have in Pali. Jambuka is referred to in *Milinda*, II, 249

³ The extreme interval given in the list of austerities occurring more than once in *Dīgha Nikāya* is twice a month—e.g., *Dialogues*, I, 229

⁴ Brahmins of this name are in *Jāt*, III, No 401, VI, No 546. For the uncle's psalm, see CCX.

culture, he dwelt with his family. And at that time the people hold a festival every year in the former half of March (Phaggūna)¹ and a baptizing at the landing stage² the festival being called the Gaya Lent.

Then the Exalted One out of compassion for those who could be led stayed near that riverside. And when the people assembled, Senaka came too, and hearing the Master teaching the Norm was converted entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereafter, reflecting on his victory he was filled with joy, and breathed forth this psalm.

O welcome was to me that day of spring
When at Gaya, at Gaya's river feast
I saw the Buddha teach the Norm supreme (287)
Saw the great Light Teacher of multitudes
Him who hath won the highest Guide of all
The Conqueror of men and gods unrivalled
Sleeper (288)

Mighty magician hero glorious
Far-shining splendour pure immune of mind³
The Master who hath slain all usavās
And hath attained that where no fear can
come⁴ (289)

Long lay I bound and harassed by the ties
Of sect and dogma—ah! but now tis He
The Blessed Lord hath rescued Senaka
From every bond and set at liberty (290)

¹ Phaggūna, or Phalguna, fell half in February half in March.

² *Tiṭṭhābhiseka*. What sort of baptizing—it sprinkling—went on whether of infants scholars or of religious confession, it is not easy to divine. According to Bohtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, the river (Nerailjari) itself was known as the Phalgu. Dr. Neumann says the town of Gaya is itself so called (*Majjh. Nik.* translation, I. 271). Cf. the very suggestive photograph in the *Sisters* p. 134 of a modern riverside gathering at Gayā.

³ *Andisara*. The Thera here repeats himself a little.

⁴ A frequent epithet of Nibbāna.

CXCH

Sambhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clansman's family, he was converted, after the Exalted One had passed away, by the Treasurer of the Norm.¹ And entering the Order, he developed insight and attained arahantship. So he lived in the bliss of emancipation till, a century after the Parinibbāna of the Exalted One, the Vajjian brethren of Vesālī put forward the ten theses, and were resisted by the Thera Niyssa² and the Kālandakian brethren, and a recension of Norm and Vinaya was made by 700 arahants. Then the Thera, moved by righteous emotion at the proposed perversion of Dhamma and Vinaya, uttered these verses, testifying thereby to aññā:

He who decides in season meet for pause,
And he who dallies when he should decide,³
This fool by want of plan and principle
Doth journey hence to suffer many ills. (201)
Rewards that should be his do melt away,
As in the dark weeks melts the waning moon.
Dishonour he incurs, at variance with his friends. (202)

He who is slow in season meet for pause,
Who crosses when 'twere wrong to hesitate,
This wise man by his plan and principle
Doth surely win his way to happiness. (203)
The gains that shall be his wax ripe and full,
As in bright weeks doth wax the crescent moon.
Honour, renown he wins, at one with friends. (204)

CXCIH

Rāhula.

Reborn in this Buddha-age through our Bodhisat, as the son of Princess Yasodhārā, he was reared with a great retinue of nobles. The circumstances of his entering the Order are recorded in the *Khandhaka*.¹ And he, his knowledge ripened by gracious words in many Sutta passages,² conjured up insight, and so won arahantship. Thereupon, reflecting on his victory, he confessed añña:

Twice blest of fortune am I whom my friends
 Call 'Lucky Rāhula.' For I am both
 Child of the Buddha and a Seer of truths; (295)
 Yea, and intoxicants are purged from me;
 Yea, and there's no more coming back to be.
 Ar'hant am I, worthy men's offerings;
 'Thrice skilled' my ken is of ambrosial things. (296)

Blinded are beings by their sense-desires,
 Spread o'er them like a net; covered are they
 By cloak of craving; by their heedless ways
 Caught as a fish in mouth of funnel-net,³ (297)
 But I, that call of sense abandoning,
 Have cut and snapt the bonds of devil's lure.
 Craving with craving's root abolishing;
 Cool am I now; extinct is fever's fire.⁴ (298)

CXCIH

Candana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī in a wealthy clan, and named Candana, he lived a domestic life till he

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, i 208 f

² *E.g.*, *Mayhuma*, Nov. 62, 147, *Saṃyutta*, iii. 135 f., etc

³ *Kumudamukhe*. The *kumudā*, paraphrased by *pasibbala*, a funnel shaped net probably resembling our weir traps.

⁴ *Nibbuto*. This is nearer to the Buddhist idea than the rendering given to this line in the *Sisters*, p. 19; see *π*. 4.

heard the Master preach the Norm, and became thereupon a Stream-winner ¹ When a child was born to him, he left his home for the Order, and taking no insight exercise, dwelt in the forest Coming into Svasthi to salute the Master, he stayed in a charnel field And his wife, hearing of his coming, adorned herself, and, taking her child and many attendants, approached him, judging that by her attractions she could induce him to secede from the Order He, seeing her coming from afar, thought 'Now will I get outside her reach' And he so conjured up insight that he acquired sixfold *abhiñña* Thereupon he rose aloft, and so taught her the Norm, establishing her in the Refuges and the Precepts Then he went back to his former haunts And when his *bhikkhu* comrades asked him, saying, 'Serene are you looking, brother, what truths have you discerned?' he told of his achievement, and testified to *añña* in these verses

In golden gear bedecked, a troop of maids
Attending in her train, bearing the babe
Upon her hip, my wife drew near to me (269)
I marked her coming, mother of my child,
In brave array like snare of Māra laid (300)
Thereat arose in me the deeper thought ²
Attention to the fact and to the cause
The misery of it all was manifest,
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed, (301)
And so my heart was set at liberty
O see the seemly order of the Norm!
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own
And all the Buddha bids me do is done (302)

¹ Or convert.

² *Aacci layā saccanti paṭisaṭṭhi bhikkhū* I commend this noble question to the attention of students in comparative hagiology

³ Repeating verses 269, 270

CXCv

Dhammika.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a family of Kosalan brahmins, and named Dhammika, he won faith at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, and entered the Order. Becoming a resident at a village Vihāra, he grew impatient and irritable over the duties of incoming bhikkhus,¹ so that the latter abandoned the Vihāra. Thus he became sole master of the Vihāra. And a layman reported this to the Exalted One. The Master sent for Dhammika, and asked him to explain. Thereupon he said: 'Not only now are you impatient; you were so formerly also'; and at the bhikkhus' request he gave a 'tree-talk' on the Norm, with admonition over and above, as follows:

Well doth the Norm protect him in sooth who follows
the Norm.

Happiness bringeth along in its train the Norm well
practised.

This shall be his reward by whom the Norm is well
practised:

Never goeth to misery he who doth follow the
Norm. (303)

For not of like result are right and wrong:

Wrong leads to baleful, right, to happy doom. (304)

Wherefore let will be applied to [master] the things
that we know.

So let him hail with delight so welcome a blessing as
this²

¹ For an account of the many sources of petty annoyance arising herefrom, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 272 ff.

² *I.e.* according to the Commentary, the privilege of a Buddha's admonition. The double reversion to the śloka (ll. 5, 6, 11, 12) in this gāthā, which is in irregular Triṣṭubh metre, is indicated above by corresponding changes. The four gāthās, indeed, bear so little on Dhammika's offence, and vary so in metre, that they suggest a patched compilation.

Firm in the Welcome Ones Norm the disciples fare
onward

Vahantly following Him their sovereign Refuge (305)

Plucked out the root of all this cancerous lump¹

The net of craving wholly torn nway,

The round of life renewed hath ceased

And naught of clinging doth remain,

Een as the moon on fifteenth day

Saile in clear sky without a stain (306)

When the Master had taught three of the verses, Dhammika, bearing them in mind, developed insight even as he sat, and won arahantship. And to show the transformation in himself to the Master, he declared añña by the last verse

CXCVI

Sabbaka.

Reborn in this Buddha age at Svatthi in a brahmin family and named Sabbaka, he heard the Exalted One teaching the Norm, and believing entered the Order. Taking an exercise, he went to the Lonagiri Vihara on the banks of the river Ajakarni, and there in due time won arahantship. Going thereupon to salute the Master at Savatthi, he stayed a little while entertained by his kinsfolk. And having confirmed them in the Refuges and the Precepts he was anxious to return to his dwelling. They begged him to stay and be supported by them. But he showing them why he had come and declaring his love of retirement by praise of his dwelling place, said

When'er I see the crane her clear bright wings²

Outstretched in fear to flee the black stormcloud

A shelter seeking to safe shelter borne,

Then doth the river Ajakarni

Give joy to me. (307)

¹ The 'lump' is the five khandhas (body and mind), the root is ignorance (Commentary).

When'er I see the crane her plumage pale
 And silver white outstretched in fear to flee
 The black stormcloud seeing no refuge nigh,
 The refuge seeking of the rocky cave,
 Then doth the river Ajakarañ

Give joy to me (308)

Who doth not love to see on either bank
 Clustered rose apple trees in fair array
 Behind the great cave [of my hermitage]¹ (309)
 Or hear the soft croak of the frogs well rid
 Of their undying mortal foes proclaim
 'Net from the mountain streams is't time to day
 To flit Safe is the Ajakarañ
 She brings us luck Here is it good to be'² (310)

Then the relatives suffered him to depart And because
 he showed herein his delight in empty places, this became
 the Thera's confession of aññā

CLXVII

Mudita.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the family of a Kosalan
 commoner, he was named Mudita When he was come
 of age his clan for some reason became objectionable to
 the king Mudita, terrified of the king ran away,³ and

¹ The jambu tree is evergreen its boughs bent with fruit its glossy
 foliage affords shade (Commentary)

² I do not find allusion elsewhere to this little river It may well
 have been the name of a tributary of the Aciravatī flowing past
 Sāvattī (see CLXXII) In the line preceding the burden of the
 frogs croak text and both versions of the Commentary are at
 variance and I do not pretend to have solved that which will be dis-
 cussed more appropriately in an edition of the Commentary The
 exact meaning is not vitally important to a poem in which the essential
 charm lies in its gentle paganism That *sangha* can be used for a
 flock say, of cranes see *Milindapaṇa* *ha* p 403

³ Cf CCXI Mudita signifies complacent, glad Cf *Bud Pys*
 p 65 n 1

entering the forest, approached the dwelling of an arahant Thera. The latter, seeing his terror, bade him fear not, and reassured him. 'How long your reverence, will it take before I am free from danger?' 'When seven or eight months have passed.' 'I cannot wait so long, I will leave the world, your reverence, ordain me!' So he begged, to protect his life. The Thera ordained him. And he, coming to believe in the doctrine, lost his fears and exercised himself for insight. Fasting to win arahantship he vowed not to leave his retreat till he had, and thereupon succeeded. Thereafter experiencing the bliss of emancipation, he was asked as to his success by his fellow bhikkhus. And he told them how he had succeeded, thus

I left the world that I might save my life,
And, once ordained, I won back faith and hope,
Valiant in energy I onward pressed (311)
Now as it must be, let this body break
And waste and let its flesh consume
My limbs let falter not the knee and fail, (312)
I will not eat nor will I drink again
Nor from this lodging let me issue forth
Nor will I even lie upon my side
While yet the dart of Craving lies undrawn! (313)
Thus steadfast I abiding—O behold
And mark the forward stride of energy
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done! (314)

* = verses 223-224 (Paccaya CXXI)

CANTO V

PSALMS OF FIVE VERSES

CXCVIII

Rājadatta

Rajadatta in this Buddha age at Savatthi in a caravan leaders' family, his parents called him Rajadatta ('given by the king'), because they had obtained him through praying to Vessatana, the great firmament deity.¹ Come of age, he once took 500 carts of merchandise to Rajagaha. Now there he squandered all his money, spending a thousand a day on a beautiful courtesan, so that he was penniless and had not enough to eat, and wandered about in wretchedness. So he came with other laymen to the Bamboo Grove, where the Master sat teaching the Norm to a great congregation. And Rajadatta, seated at the fringe of the assembly, heard and believed, and entered the Order. Undertaking the Dhutangas² he dwelt in a charnel field.

Now another caravan leader also spent his thousand on the courtesan, and wore on his hand a ring of great value, which she coveted. She got men to steal it, but the owner's servants told the police,³ and they raided her house, slew her, and cast her body into the charnel field.

The Thera Rajadatta, walking therein to find a foul object for meditation, noticed this corpse. For a while

¹ One of four so called Great Kings each presiding over a quarter of the visible world, called also *Kuvera*, he presided over the northern quarter (*Dialogues*, II, 287 f.)

² Supererogatory austerities (*Ullanda*, II, book vi.)

³ *Ātaccakāmanāna* (?) I have not found the word elsewhere and only guess at the meaning

he concentrated his attention, but the portions of her yet unmangled by dogs and jackals distracted him and all but overmastered him. Much distraught, he exhorted his heart, and went away for a brief space; then recommencing, he induced jhāna, confirmed his insight, and so won arahantship.

Thereupon, reflecting on his success and filled with rest and joy, he said :

A bhikkhu to the charnel-field had gone,
 And there he saw a woman's body cast
 Untended 'mid the dead, the food of worms. (315)
 Most men had felt repugnance at the sight,
 Seeing the corpse, the poor dead evil thing.
 In me was sensual passion manifest,
 And I became as blind and lost control. (316)
 But swifter from that place than seething rice
 Could boiling overflow, I turned and fled;¹
 Aside elsewhere I took my seat cross-legged,
 In heedful and discriminating mood. (317)
 Thereon arose in me the deeper thought:²
 Attention to the fact and to the cause
 The misery of it all was manifest.
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed; (318)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm!
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (319)

CXCIX

Subhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a commoner of Magadha, and named Subhūta, his disposition to seek

¹ The Commentary explains as follows *yācāṭu kileṇa supari dhotatintatandulaniṣṭhī? oḍanay paccati, tato, oram eva kalyā, tato lahukuleṇa raṇṇe vmodento*

² = verses 269, 270

escape caused him to quit domestic life and to join sectarian ascetics. Finding among them nothing genuine, and seeing the happiness enjoyed by Upatissa, Kolita, Sela¹ and others, after they had entered the Order, he believed in our doctrine and entered also. After winning the favour of his teachers and preceptors, he went into retreat with an exercise. And developing insight he won arahantship.

Thereupon he declared aññā by reviewing the suffering he had endured by self-mortification, and his subsequent happiness in jhāna, etc. :

A man who jakes himself to things unfit,
Desiring² to accomplish work therein,
If seeking he doth not attain, his quest
Doth bear the intrinsic markings of mis-
chance. (320)

If he surrender but one [vantage-point]
Of misery[³'s source] drawn out nml overcome,
Like luckless throw of dice his state may be
But if he throw all [he hath gained] away,
No better is he than a blinded man,
Who sees not if the road be smooth or rough⁴ (321)

Of him who talketh much, but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
worth (322)

¹ Upatissa is Sāriputta, Kolita is Moggallāna. See CCLIX, CCLXIII, CCLXIII. The two former were of his own country, Sela was from the country lying north of Magadha.

² According to the Commentary we are to read *icchato* as *icchanta*. Dr Oldenberg supports this by parallels from *Sisters*, verse 210.

³ Who, ignorant (*ajānato*) to the ignorant, hath told thee this? for *ajānanto* (*Samy*, i. 11, *Dīpaṇṣa*, xxi, verse 2).

⁴ The metre of this one gāthī is very curious and irregular, nor can the Commentary throw much light on its original phraseology. It decides that *agghaṭṭa* stands for three *agghaṭṭa*'s (miseries)—viz., greed, hate, and illusion. The Br MS makes no attempt to correct this term by references to value (*agga*), as does the S MS. Yet this gāthī fits in better with the legend than do the platitudes that follow (=verse 226). It is the language of one who has sacrificed his all to win

Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 But lacking odour, so is uttered word
 That barren proves, by action not made good. (323)
 Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 And fragrant odour, so is uttered word
 That fruitful proves, in action holding good.¹ (324)

CC

Girimānanda.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājageha as the son of King Bimbisāra's chaplain, he was named Girimānanda. He saw the power and majesty of a Buddha when the Master attended the meeting at Rājageha, and he entered the Order. During his studies he stayed awhile at a village, then came back to the town to salute the Master. And Bimbisāra the maharāja heard of his coming, and going to him, said: 'Do you dwell here, your reverence; I will supply your needs.' But from his much business he forgot, so that the Thera dwelt in the open. And the weather-gods held off the rain for fear of wetting the Thera. Then the king, noting the drought, built him a hermitage. And the Thera, sheltered in his hut, put forth all his efforts, and combining energy and calm, conjured up insight and won arahantship. Then, delighted at its advent, he confessed añña while the rain fell from above:

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well roofed.
 Therein I dwell, my heart serene and calm.
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain! (325)

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Therein I dwell, and peace within my heart.
 Now, etc. (326)

¹ = *Dhammapada*, verses 51, 52.

.....

Therein I dwell, all passion purged away.

... .. (327)

... ..

Therein I dwell, all hatred purged away.

... .. (328)

... ..

Therein I dwell, all error purged away.

Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain!¹ (329)

CCI

Sumana.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the family of a commoner of Kosala, and named Sumana, he grew up in happy circumstances. His mother's brother became an arahant, dwelling in the forest, and when Sumana came of age, this uncle ordained him, giving him exercises on ethical conduct. Finally, when the four jhānas and fivefold² abhiññā were acquired, the Thera showed him the way of insight, so that he soon acquired arahantship. And when he went to his uncle and was asked concerning his success, he thus made confession

That which my teacher wished that I should
know

In doctrines good, and of his kindness taught
To me who longed for the Ambrosial

That now, even the task prescribed, is done (330)

Yea, won and realized is the Norm

E'en for my own, not learnt 'as such and such'³

¹ Cf I and LI LIV There is such a uniformity in these references to a carelessly benevolent patron that the six poems and their legends lose individual validity

² See p 32, n 1 He only lacked *Asavakkhaya*

³ *Dhammo anāṭha*, a favourite expression in the *Sutta Nipāta*. See Fausboll's translation and notes, verses 934, 1052, 1060, 1060, 1083, 1134, cf *Mayh*, i 520

Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 But lacking odour, so is uttered word
 That barren proves, by action not made good (323)
 Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 And fragrant odour, so is uttered word
 That fruitful proves, in action holding good¹ (324)

CC

Girimananda

Reborn in this Buddha age at Rajagaha as the son of King Bimbisara's chaplain, he was named Girimananda. He saw the power and majesty of a Buddha when the Master attended the meeting at Rajagaha, and he entered the Order. During his studies he stayed awhile at a village then came back to the town to salute the Master. And Bimbisara the maharaja heard of his coming, and going to him, said 'Do you dwell here, your reverence, I will supply your needs. But from his much business he forgot, so that the Thera dwelt in the open. And the weather gods held off the rain for fear of wetting the Thera. Then the king noting the drought, built him a hermitage. And the Thera, sheltered in his hut, put forth all his efforts, and combining energy and calm conjured up insight and won arahantship. Then, delighted at its advent, he confessed añña while the rain fell from above.

God rains as twere a melody most sweet
 Snug is my little hut sheltered well roofed
 Therein I dwell my heart serene and calm
 Now 'n it pleaseth thee to run god rain! (325)

God rains as twere a melody most sweet
 Snug is my little hut sheltered well roofed
 Therein I dwell and peace within my heart
 Now etc. (326)

¹ = *Dhammapaḍa* verses 51-52

Therein I dwell, all passion purged away.
(327)

Therein I dwell, all hatred purged away
(328)

Therein I dwell, all error purged away
Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain!¹ (329)

CCI

Sumana.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the family of a commoner of Kosala, and named Sumana, he grew up in happy circumstances. His mother's brother became an arahant, dwelling in the forest, and when Sumana came of age, this uncle ordained him, giving him exercises on ethical conduct. Finally, when the four jhanas and fivefold² abhiññā were acquired, the Thera showed him the way of insight, so that he soon acquired arahantship. And when he went to his uncle and was asked concerning his success, he thus made confession

That which my teacher wished that I should
know

In doctrines good, and of his kindness taught
To me who longed for the Ambrosial

That now, even the task prescribed is done (330)

Yea won and realized is the Norm

E'en for my own not learnt 'as such and such'³

¹ Cf I and LI LIV. There is such a uniformity in these references to a carelessly benevolent patron that the six poems and their legends lose individual validity

² See p 32 n 1. He only lacked *Asavakkhaya*

³ *Dhammo anittho* a favourite expression in the *Sutta Nipita*. See Fausboll's translation and notes verses 931 1002 1065 1080 1093 1194 cf *Mayh*, I 520

Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 But lacking odour, so is uttered word
 That barren proves, by action not made good. (323)
 Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 And fragrant odour, so is uttered word
 That fruitful proves, in action holding good.¹ (324)

CC

Girimānanda.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of King Bimbisāra's chaplain, he was named Girimānanda. He saw the power and majesty of a Buddha when the Master attended the meeting at Rājagaha, and he entered the Order. During his studies he stayed awhile at a village, then came back to the town to salute the Master. And Bimbisāra the maharāja heard of his coming, and going to him, said: 'Do you dwell here, your reverence; I will supply your needs.' But from his much business he forgot, so that the Thera dwelt in the open. And the weather-gods held off the rain for fear of wetting the Thera. Then the king, noting the drought, built him a hermitage. And the Thera, sheltered in his hut, put forth all his efforts, and combining energy and calm, conjured up insight and won arahantship. Then, delighted at its advent, he confessed aññā while the rain fell from above:

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Therein I dwell, my heart serene and calm.
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain! (325)

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Therein I dwell, and peace within my heart.
 Now, etc. (326)

¹ = *Dhammapada*, verses 51, 52

Therein I dwell, all passion purged away.
(327)

Therein I dwell all hatred purged away
(328)

Therein I dwell, all error purged away
Now as it pleaseth thee to run god, run!¹ (329)

CCI

Sumana

Reborn in this Buddha age in the family of a commoner of Kosala, and named Sumana, he grew up in happy circumstances. His mother's brother became an arahant, dwelling in the forest, and when Sumana came of age, this uncle ordained him, giving him exercises on ethical conduct. Finally when the four jhanas and fivefold² abhiññā were acquired, the Thera showed him the way of insight, so that he soon acquired arahantship. And when he went to his uncle and was asked concerning his success, he thus made confession:

That which my teacher wished that I should
know

In doctrines good, and of his kindness taught
To me who longed for the Ambrosial

That now, even the task prescribed, is done (330)

Yea won and realized is the Norm

Even for my own not learnt 'as such and such'

¹ Cf I and LI LIV. There is such a uniformity in these references to a carelessly benevolent patron that the six poems as I then 'agendā' sumā indivīdual vāhūtī.

² See p 32 n 1. He only lacked *Isanakkajjā*.

³ *Dhammo anuttaro* a favourite expression in the *Sutta Nipatta*. See Fauser's translation and notes, verses 931 10 2 1063 1080 1093 11 1 cf *Majjh*, I 520.

Pure love is mine, dispelled is every doubt.
 Let me stand near to thee and testify: (331)
 I know the where and when of former lives,
 And clearly shines the Eye Celestial;
 The Good Supreme, Arhantship, have I won,¹
 And what the Buddha bids us do is done. (332)
 Well have I learnt, who used all diligence,
 The method and the training in thy rule;
 For all th' Intoxicants are purged away;
 Now cometh never more the life renewed. (333)
 Noble thy cult and thou hast guided me.
 Compassionate, 'tis thou hast favoured me.
 Thine admonitions have not proved inept.
 Once an apprentice, now am I adept (334)

CCII

Vaddha.

Reborn in this Buddha age at the city of Bharukaccha in a commoner's clan, and named Vaddha, he grew up in due course.² Now his mother, distressed at the continuity of rebirth and death, entrusted her son to her kinsfolk, and entered the Order among the bhikkhunis. She thereafter won arhantship. Her son, too, entered the Order under Thera Veludanta, and learning the Buddha-Word, became learned and eloquent in preaching. And one day, feeling the responsibility of office, he thought: 'I will go alone and see my mother, nor put on my cloak.' So he went to the

¹ *Sadattko ti arahattay* (Commentary)

² *Anupubbena vaddhati*. This (here) unusual turn of phrase refers doubtless to his name, which means 'growth,' 'increase.' The mother's story is given in the *Sisters*, lxx ff. She speaks also for him, but except for the 'spur'—literally, 'good'—motive and the 'jungle,' she places a different psalm in his mouth, a by proof of the difference in authorship (see Introduction). The wearing under garments as outer—i.e., leaving the *civara* behind—is commented on in Vinaya discipline (*Vinaya*, v. 281). Presumably the Thera herein put his sonship before his office.



TEACHER AND PUPIL IN CEYLON

Noble of cult and thou last guided me

bhikkhunīs quarters His mother, seeing him, rebuked him 'Why are you come here alone and without your cloak? And he, convicted in doing that which was unfit, returned to his Vihara, and seated in the day room, there attained arahantship, testifying to añña under the aspect of ascribing his achievement to his mother's admonition

O well in sooth my mother used the goad¹
 I marked her word, and by my parent taught,
 I stirred up effort, put forth all my strength,
 And won the goal, th' enlightenment supreme (335)
 Ar hant am I, meet for men's offerings¹
 Thrice wise th' ambrosial vision I behold,
 Conquered is Namuci and all his host,²
 And now I dwell henceforth sane and immune (336)
 Ycī, the intoxicants that once were there,
 Within, without me,³ are extracted clean,
 Nought doth remain nor may they re appear (337)
 Lo¹ wise and ripe in grace the Sister⁴ was,
 Who spake this word of pregnant good to me
 For thee now even as for me, [my son,]
 No jungle of the mind doth bar the way (338)
 A final barrier is made to Ill
 Last mortal frame is thus, to which belongs
 The way world without end of birth and death,
 Nor ever cometh more rebirth [for thee] (339)

CCIII

Kassapa of the River

Reborn in this Buddha age in a clan of Magadha brahmins, as the brother of Uruvela Kassapa, his religious inclination made him dislike domestic life, and he became aa

¹ — verses 296-516

² Namuci, a name for Mara

³ *I.e. bahiddharattika* 'having external bases or causes — e.g., objects of sense misguided teachers heavens etc

⁴ Bhagini, lit. sister

proficient in Brahmin accomplishments, he saw the Master. Never sated by looking at the perfection of the Master's visible body, he went about with him. And when in his house he thought 'I shall not [here] get a chance of seeing Him constantly', so he entered the Order, and spent all his time, save at his meals and toilet, doing nothing else but contemplating the Exalted One. The Master¹, waiting for the maturity of his insight, for a long while made no comment, then one day he said 'What is to thee, Vakkali, this foul body that thou seest? He who seeth the Norm, he it is that seeth me. For seeing the Norm he seeth me, and seeing me he seeth the Norm'. At the Master's words, Vakkali ceased to look, but he was unable to go away. Hence the Master thinking 'This bhikkhu, if he got not deeply moved, will not awake,' said on the last day of the rains 'Depart, Vakkali'. Thus bidden, he could not stay, but thinking 'What is life to me if I cannot see him?' climbed the Valturo's Peak to a place of precipices. The Master, knowing what Vakkali was about, thought 'This bhikkhu, finding no comfort away from me, will destroy the conditions for winning the topmost fruits', and revealing himself in a glory, spake thus

*Now let the bhikkhu with exceeding joy
 Delighting in the Buddha's Way and Love,
 Go up on to the holy, happy Path
 Where things component ne'er excite him more²*

And stretching forth his hand, he said 'Come, BHIKKHU!

The Thera filled with mighty joy and rapture at the thought 'I see Him of the Ten Powers, and mine is it to hear Him say 'Come!' came to himself and realized what he was doing. Rising in the air, he stood on the nearest point of the hill while he pondered on the Master's verse,

¹ Or 'causing to come (āgamento). The *Anguttara Commentary* has the same expression but then says [after no comment] 'Discerning that it was now ripe and he able to enlighten him, said

² *Dhammapada* verse 381. The *adhyacche* is not present tense as in Fausboll's 'adit' nor future as in Max Muller's translation. The Master's body was eminently a type of things component (*sankhara*)

then arresting his rapture he realized arahantship together with grasp of the form and meaning of the Norm. This is what is recorded both in the *Anguttara Commentary* and in that on the *Dhammapada*.

But here they¹ say as follows. Admonished by the Master's What is to thee? Vakkali dwelt on the Vulture's Peak establishing himself in insight and descending into the avenue thereof by the might of his faith. The Exalted One knowing this, gave him a special exercise which he could not achieve and from insufficient food he suffered from cramps. Knowing him thus suffering the Exalted One went and asked him

Thou who foredone with cramping pains
Dwellst in the jungle in the woods
Thy range confined in hard hip dire—
Tell me bhikkhu how wilt thou live? (300)

And the Thera declaring his constant happiness through unworldly joys replied

With bliss and raptures flooding wave
This mortal frame will I suffuse
Though hard and rough what I endure
Yet will I in the jungle dwell (301)

Herein myself I'll exercise—
The Starting points of Mindfulness
The Powers five the Forces too
The Factors of Enlightenment—
So will I in the jungle dwell (302)

For I have seen [what friends have wrought]
Their striving rouse I their straining mind
Their staunch and ever onward stride
In concord I found—and having seen
Even in the jungle will I dwell (303)

¹ Presumably the two sources of his own work. The Commentaries referred to are quoted accurately by him—to wit the *Maṇḍaraka purāṇa* on *Ang.* 1. 94. 7 and the *Dhammapāṇiya Commentary* on verse 281.

² Having seen his co-religionists. By this he shows his good fortune in virtuous friends (*Commentary*).

proficient in brahmin accomplishments, he saw the Master. Never sated by looking at the perfection of the Master's visible body, he went about with him. And when in his house he thought: 'I shall not [here] get a chance of seeing Him constantly'; so he entered the Order, and spent all his time, eave at his meals and toilet, doing nothing else but contemplating the Exalted One. The Master,¹ waiting for the maturity of his insight, for a long while made no comment; then one day he said: 'What is to thee, Vakkali, this foul body that thou seest? He who seeth the Norm, he it is that seeth me. For seeing the Norm he seeth me, and seeing me he seeth the Norm.' At the Master's words, Vakkali ceased to look, but he was unable to go away. Hence the Master thinking: 'This bhikkhu, if he get not deeply moved, will nat awake,' said on the last day of the rains: 'Depart, Vakkali!' Thus bidden, he could not stay; but thinking: 'What is life to me if I cannot see him?' climbed the Vulture's Peak to a place of precipices. The Master, knowing what Vakkali was about, thought: 'This bhikkhu, finding no comfort away from me, will destroy the conditions for winning the topmost fruits'; and revealing himself in a glory, spake thus:

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Delighting in the Buddha's Way and Lore,
Go up on to the holy, happy Path,
Where things component n'er excite him more.²*

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The Thera, filled with mighty joy and rapture at the thought: 'I see Him-of-the-Ten-Powers, and mine is it to hear Him say: Come!' came to himself and realized what he was doing. Rising in the air, he stood on the nearest point of the hill while he pondered on the Master's verse;

¹ Or 'cansing to come' (*āgamento*) The *Anguttara Commentary* has the same expression, but then says [after no comment] 'Discerning that it was now ripe, and he able to enlighten him, said . . .'

² *Dhammapada*, verse 381. The *adāgacche* is not present tense as in Gausbol's 'adit,' nor future as in Max Müller's translation. The Master's body was eminently a type of 'things component' (*sankhāra*)

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Thou who foredone with cramping pains
Dwellst in the jungle, in the woods
Thy range confined, in hardship due—
Tell me, bhikkhu, how wilt thou live? (350)

And the Thera declaring his constant happiness through unworldly joys, replied

With bliss and rapture's flooding wave
This mortal frame will I suffuse
Though hard and rough what I endure,
Yet will I in the jungle dwell (351)

Herein myself I'll exercise —
The Starting points of Mindfulness
The Powers five the Forces too,
The Factors of Enlightenment—
So will I in the jungle dwell (352)

For I have seen [what friends have wrought]²
Their striving roused, their straining mind,
Their staunch and ever onward stride,
In concord bound,—and having seen,
E'en in the jungle will I dwell (353)

¹ Presumably the two sources of his own work. The Commentaries referred to are quoted accurately by him—to wit the *Manorathā-pūraṇa* on Ang. i. 21 § 2 and the *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 381.

² 'Having seen his co-religionists. By this he shows his good fortune in virtuous friends (Commentary)

Remembering Him, the Very Wake,
 Supremely tamed, intent, serene,—
 With mind unwearied night and day,
 Thus will I in the jungle dwell (354)

Thus saying the Thera conjured up insight, and then it was that he won arahantship

CCVI

Vijitasena

Reborn in this Buddha age in a Kosalan elephant trainers family, he was named Vijitasena. His maternal uncles, Sena and Upasena,¹ had both entered the Order and become arahants, when Vijitasena, after learning the craft of his folk, saw the twin miracle² of the Master, believed, and being naturally of a religious disposition, entered the Order under his uncles. Training by their instructions he rose into the avenue of insight, but his mind remaining discursive through various external objects, he admonished it

I will restrain thee, heart, as elephants
 Are by the town-gates sally-port³ kept back
 I'll not abet thee in thy naughty ways,
 Thou net of wishes, thou of body born (355)
 Not thine 'twill be, thus checked, to go at large
 As elephant that wins not through the gate,
 Struggle thy best, thou witch⁴ again, again,
 Thou shalt not roam, who art to sin so fain (356)
 Even as one who firmly wields the hook
 Doth turn th' unbroken, untamed elephant
 Against its will, so will I turn thee back (357)

¹ Not the brother of Sāriputta (CCXXXVIII). Neither uncle is met with elsewhere.

² See XXXI.

³ = *Khuddaka dvāraṇ*, or low, little door (Commentary).

⁴ = *Citta Kalahanni*. I take *ṛasahay* as *ṛasālanlo* 'using force'. The Br. Cy. reads *pasanga* paraphrasing by *sarana saṃjāstasava* *ena*. Cf. the S. MS. in Dr. Oldenberg's note, p. 40.

As the good driver, in horsebreking skilled,
 Doth tame the mettle of the thoroughbred
 So will I bring thee too beneath control
 By virtue of the fivefold spiritual force (358)
 Yea by right heedfulness I'll bind thee fast
 Myself restrained so will I master thee
 Cumbered in the harness of right energy
 Thou shalt not O my heart, go far from me¹ (359)

Thus restraining his thoughts did the Thera expand
 insight and win arahantship

CCVII

Yasadatta

Reborn in this Buddha age in a clan of Malla rajas and named Yasadatta he was educated at Takhasilā² There after making a tour with the Wanderer Sabbhiya,³ they came to Savatthi where Sabbhiya put questions to the Exalted One Yasadatta listened to the answers, thinking as he took his seat, eager to criticize 'I will show the defects in the Samana Gotama's discourse' Now the Exalted One knew what was in his mind, and at the end of the 'Sabbhiya Sutta' admonished him in these verses

Who witless and with captious mind
 Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told
 Far, far from the true Norm is he
 As from the heaven is the earth⁴ (360)

Who witless and with captious mind
 Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
 From the true Norm he wanes away
 As in the month's dark half the moon (361)

¹ This is the second of the three poems conceived in this vein—namely of a better self attempting to control the mutinies of older unregenerate impulses Cf. LXXVII and CCLXII

² See *Bud. Ind.*, pp. 823-203

³ See Sabbhiya's psalm CLXXXVIII *Sutta Nipata* iii 6

⁴ = verse 218 a line in Sabbhiya's own psalm

Remembering Him the Very Wake,
 Supremely tamed, intent, serene,—
 With mind unwearied night and day,
 Thus will I in the jungle dwell (354)

Thus saying the Thera conjured up insight, and then it was that he won arahantship

CCVI

Vijitasena

Reborn in this Buddha age in a Kosalan elephant trainers' family, he was named Vijitasena. His maternal uncles, Sena and Upasena,¹ had both entered the Order and become arahants, when Vijitasena, after learning the craft of his folk, saw the twin miracle² of the Master, believed, and being naturally of a religious disposition, entered the Order under his uncles. Training by their instructions he rose into the avenue of insight, but his mind remaining discursive through various external objects, he admonished it

I will restrain thee, heart 's elephants
 Are by the town-gates sally-port³ kept back
 Ill not abet thee in thy naughty ways
 Thou net of wishes, thou of body born (355)
 Not thine twill be, thus checked to go at large
 As elephant that wins not through the gate
 Struggle thy best, thou witch⁴ again, again
 Thou shalt not roam, who art to sin so fain (356)
 Even as one who firmly wields the hook
 Doth turn th' unbroken untamed elephant
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¹ Not the brother of Sāṃputta (CCXXXVIII). Neither uncle is met with elsewhere.

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⁴ = *Citta Kālāhannī*. I take *pasal* as *pasal* and ⁴ using force. The Br Cy reads *pasanga*, paraphrasing by *sarāṇa saṃpassaṇa* (ava) sena. Cf the S MS in Dr Oldenberg's note p. 40.

As the good driver, in horsebreking skilled,
 Doth tame the mettle of the thoroughbred,
 So will I bring thee too beneath control.
 By virtue of the fivefold spiritual force. (358)
 Yea, by right heedfulness I'll bind thee fast,
 Myself restrained, so will I master thee.
 Curbed in the harness of right energy,
 Thou shalt not, O my heart, go far from me.¹ (359)

Thus restraining his thoughts did the Thera expand
 insight and win arabantship.

CCVII

Yasadatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Malla rājas, and named Yasadatta, he was educated at Takkasīlā.² Thereafter making a tour with the Wanderer Sabhiya,³ they came to Sāvattihī, where Sabhiya put questions to the Exalted One. Yasadatta listened to the answers, thinking as he took his seat, eager to criticize: 'I will show the defects in the Samaṇa Gotama's discourse.' Now the Exalted One knew what was in his mind, and at the end of the 'Sabhiya Sutta' admonished him in these verses:

Who witless and with captious mind
 Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
 Far, far from the true Norm is he,
 As from the heaven is the earth.⁴ (360)

Who witless and with captious mind
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 From the true Norm he wanes away,
 As in the month's dark half the moon. (361)

¹ This is the second of the three poems conceived in this vein—namely, of a better self attempting to control the mutinies of older unregenerate impulses. Cf. LXXVII. and CCLXVII.

² See *Bud. Ind.*, pp 8, 29, 203

³ See Sabhiya's psalm CLXXXVIII., *Sutta Nipāta*, III. 6

⁴ = verse 213, a line in Sabhiya's own psalm

Who witless etc

In the true Norm he withers up

As fish where water runneth low (362)

Who witless, etc

In the true Norm he doth not thrive,

As rotten seed in furrow sown (363)

He who with glad contented mind

Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told

He, casting out th' Intoxicants,

Doth realize the Influctuate,¹

Doth win the Peace ineffable,

And is perfected, sane immune (364)

Thus admonished by the Master, Yasadatta was filled with emotion, entered the Order, and, establishing insight, in due course won arahantship. And in confessing añña he uttered these very verses

CCVIII

Sona-Kutikanna.

Reborn in this Buddha-aga in the country of Avanti in the family of a very wealthy councillor, he was given the name of Sona. Wearing ear-jewelry worth a crore, he became known as *hoti*, or *Kutikanna* (Crore ears).² Grown up, he became a landowner, and when the venerable Kaccana the Great³ stayed near his house, he ministered to his wants, learned the Norm, and finally growing disturbed, entered the Order through him. Collecting with

¹ *Aki ppatti*, a very rare abstract noun from *akijjpa*, undisturbed unshaken. 'Is perfected' (*parinibbatti* more usually the deponent form *parinibbajati*) in the sense of rounded off complete—i.e., attained life's climax and end. 'Sane etc = *anisaṃso*

² Or as it is possible he had the little point or faul-like peak (*litti*) in the ears like Julian Hawthorne's hero in 'Transformation'. See *Vinaya Texts* ii 32 n. 3

³ See CCXXX.

great difficulty a company of ten, he soon took leave of the Thera to go to Savatthi and salute the Master. Being admitted to pass the night in the Master's portion, and in the morning invited to recite, he was commended for the sixteen Attakās. And when the verse—

' Seeing the evils of a worldly life

was finished, he developed insight and won arahantship.

And when he had obtained the Master's consent to the three matters which Kaccana the Great had commissioned him to ask, he returned to his own dwelling place, and told the Thera his instructor. This is recorded more fully in the *Udana* and *Anguttara Commentaries*,¹ but there it is said that he attained arahantship while studying under his teacher.

Anon, while dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he reviewed his achievement, and full of joy he breathed out these verses

Not only did I ordination win,
Emancipated am I, sane, immune,
Yea, him have I now seen, th' Exalted One,
And where he dwelt, there with him did I
lodge (365)

Far through the night he stayed beneath the sky,
Then versed in every thing's abiding place,
The Master in his chamber went to rest. (366)
His robe spread GOTAMĀ² and laid him down,
Like unto lion in a rocky cave,
For whom all fear and dread have passed
away³ (367)

Thereafter in the presence of the Chief,
The Wake, did Sona, framing goodly speech,
Disciple of the Buddha, speak the Norm (368)

¹ *Udana*, v. 6. *Manoratha purani on Ang.* i. 24 § 2. *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 32 ff.

² See VCI, n. 3 in which for ten read nine times.

³ Cf. introductory stanzas.

Well doth he know the factors of this life,
 Well doth he cultivate the Ariyan Way,
 So, having won to that most perfect Peace,
 Shall he complete becoming,¹ saue, immune (369)

CCIX

Kosiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a Magadhan brahmin's family, he was called by his family name. Kosiya. Come of age, he often went to hear the General of the Norm teaching,² and thereby, believing in the doctrine, entered the Order, and in due course won arabsntship. Thereupon reviewing his achievement, he extolled the venerableness and determining power for good of the wise in these verses.

He that is valiant and learn'd in the word of the
 masters,
 Therein can rest³ and therefor can cherish affection,
 Him ye may call devoted⁴ and wise. thus he
 may be
 One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
 doctrines⁵ (370)

¹ Identical with the last line in verse 364, except that the verb is in the future, *parinibbissati*, making, by the way, a superfluous foot in the Pali metre

² Sānputta, a native of a village in Magadha

³ *Vase* = *vaseyya* (Commentary)

⁴ *Bhattimā*, meaning either this, or one who can distinguish (*vide* Childers). The former meaning seems required by 'can cherish affection,' but I doubt if this (later very prevalent) meaning occurs elsewhere in the Pitakas. The Commentary's remark is *So hi so garunay vacannā dhuro, so yathanusutthay patipattiy, tattā, bhattimā ca nāma hoti.*

⁵ Cf *Sutta Nipata*, iv 13, 11, where the line occurs. It does not seem to me to require the alteration suggested by Dr Neumann. *Vasesi assa vasesa siyā* Cy

Him whose steadfast philosophy hardship unparalleled
Testing has no power to disturb or bewilder

Him ye may call strong willed and wise thus he
may be

One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
doctrines (371)

He who abideth as ocean unyielding unfathomed

As to his insight in problems subtle and delicate

Him ye may call inexpugnable¹ wise thus he may be

One that winneth etc (372)

Erudite one who beareth the Word in his memory

Practiser he of all doctrine greater and lesser

Him ye may call all this and wise thus he may be

One that winneth etc (373)

He who knoweth the meaning of that which is spoken
knowing the meaning shapeth his actions accord
ingly

Meaning within side² call him and wise thus he
may be

One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
doctrines (374)

¹ Lat who may not be removed

² *atth antaro* We are reminded of M Bergson's phrase that by intuition we may see the becoming of things from within transported by an effort of sympathy (*Creative Evolution* pp 361 f 334) The Cy however reads *atth andhara* Cf *Uhammadaro* just above

Well doth he know the factors of this life,
 Well doth he cultivate the Ariyan Way,
 So, having won to that most perfect Peace,
 Shall he complete becoming,¹ sane, immune. (369)

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² Sāriputta, a native of a village in Magadha.

³ *Vase* = *vasiyya* (Commentary).

⁴ *Bhaddimā*, meaning either this, or one who can distinguish (vide Childers). The former meaning seems required by 'can cherish affection,' but I doubt if this (later very prevalent) meaning occurs elsewhere in the Pīṭakas. The Commentary's remark is. *So ti so garūṇay vacanūññā dhīro, so yathānūṭṭheṇ paṭipattiyā, tattha, bhaddimā ca nāma hoti*.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, iv 13, 11, where the line occurs. It does not seem to me to require the alteration suggested by Dr. Neumann. *Vāso assa' vāso assa' vāso* Cy.

Him, whose steadfast philosophy hardship unparalleled
Testing has no power to disturb or bewilder,

Him ye may call strong-willed and wise: thus he
may be

One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
doctrines (371)

He who abideth as ocean unyielding, unfathomed

As to his insight in problems subtle and delicate,

Him ye may call inexpugnable,¹ wise: thus he may be

One that winneth, etc. . . . (372)

Erudite, one who beareth the Word in his memory,

Practiser he of all doctrine, greater and lesser,

Him ye may call all this and wise: thus he may be

One that winneth, etc. . . . (373)

He who knoweth the meaning of that which is spoken,
Knowing the meaning, shapeth his actions accord-
ingly,

'Meaning-within-side'² call him and wise: thus he
may be

One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
doctrines. (374)

¹ Lat, 'who may not be removed.'

² *Atth antaro* We are reminded of M. Bergson's phrase, that 'by intuition we may see the becoming of things from within, transported by an effort of sympathy' (*Creative Evolution*, pp 361 f, 334) The Cy, however, reads *atthandharo* Cf *dhammadharo* just above

CANTO VI

PSALMS OF SIX VERSES

CCX

Kassapa of Uruvelā

REBORN in the day of our Exalted One as the firstborn of three brothers in a brahmin family, they were all called by their family name Kassapa¹ and they all learned the three Vedas. They had a following of five, three, and two hundred brahmin youths respectively. And finding no vital truth in their scriptures,² but only subjects of worldly interest,³ they left the world and became ascetics. And they became named after the places where they dwelt as rishis, the eldest with his company going to dwell at Uruvelā. Many days after this came the great renunciation of our Bodhisat, the starting of the Norm-Wheel, the arahantship of the five Theras, the conversion of the fifty three associates headed by Yasa, the sending forth of the sixty arahants, 'Go ye, bhikkhus, and wander', the conversion of the thirty wealthy friends and the coming of the Master to Uruvelā. When he had there wrought many wonders, beginning with the taming of the Naga, Kassapa was convinced and entered the Order, his brothers following his example. To them and their

¹ See CCIII-CCIV. The incidents here outlined are told in *Ang. i. 1* *Texts* 119-122. This Kassapa is assigned eldest rank among those bhikkhus who had great following (*Ang. i. 2*).

² I find in their own book *attano gāthā*.

³ *D. thātha mālam eva attāro*.

CCXI

Tekicchakāri

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a brahmin named Subuddha, he was safely brought into the world by the aid of physicians. Hence he was named Tekicchakāri, 'doctor-made.'¹ He grew up, learning the arts and learning of his clan. Now his father, by his wisdom and policy having incurred the jealousy and suspicion of the King of Benāra (sic), was by King Candagutta thrown into prison. Then Tekicchakāri, hearing of this, took fright and fled, taking sanctuary with the Thera dwelling at the Vihāra Hall, and telling him the cause of his trouble. The Thera ordained him and gave him an exercise, whereupon he became an open-air sedent bhikkhu,² heedless of heat or cold, and devoted especially to the cultivation of the Sublime Moods. Him Māra the Evil One saw, as one slipping out of his reach; and in the desire of unbalancing the Thera, he drew nigh in the guise of a field-herd, when the harvest was over, tempting him thus:

All harvested is now the rice, and threshed
The barley. Not a bite or sup I'll get!
What shall I do? (381)

Then the Thera, thinking, 'This fellow tells me of his state. But it is myself that I ought to admonish. I have no business to be discoursing,' thus exhorted himself to meditate on the Three Bases:

Think on the Buddha! infinite the thought!
Thou thus in gāḥ-onā piecy, dīy siame
With rapture all suffused, shalt ever dwell
Upon the heights (382)

¹ So in Oldenberg's MSS and the Br Cy. Only the S Cy has -kāri.

² Two forms of the *dhutanga*. See *Milinda*, II, book vi.

Think on the *Dhamma*!¹ . . .

(381)

Think on the Order! infinite the thought!¹
 Thou thus in *gladsome* pity, thy frame
 With rapture all suffused, shalt ever dwell
 Upon the heights. (381)

Then Māra again, wishing to dissuade him from solitude, pretended to be his well-wisher, saying:

Dost dwell beneath bare skies? Cold are these
 nights
 And wintry now. See that thou perish not
 With cold foredone. Get thee within thy lodge,
 Thy door well barred! (385)

Then the Thera, showing that in house-dwelling was a fetter, but that there he was at ease, said:

My heart transported shall reach out and touch
 The Four Immeasurable Moods;² thereby
 Ever shall I in blissful ease abide.
 Not mine foredone by cold to fail, who dwell
 Unmoved and calm (386)

Thus saying, the Thera developed insight and realized arahantship.

And because this Thera lived in the time of King Bindusāra, these verses must be understood as having been rehearsed as canonical at the Third Council³

¹ Repeat as in verse 382

² See his story and that of Subhūti. The Four Moods were Love, Pity, Sympathy for Happiness, and Equanimity. Line 1 is expanded from 'I shall touch,' an expression scarcely so significant to us as to a Buddhist or a Neo Platonist. See my *Buddhism*, p. 218

³ This interesting historical sidelight was noticed in Oldenberg's edition, p. 42 n., and in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. xvi. Bindusāra, father of Asoka, was son of the usurper Chandragupta (Candagutta), who imprisoned the Thera's father

CCVII

Maha naga

Reborn in this Buddha age at Saketa as the son of a brahmin named Madhu Vasetttha, he was given the name of Maha naga¹ He saw the wonder wrought by Thera Gavampati,² while the Exalted One was staying in the Añjana Wood, and receiving faith, he entered the Order under the Thera, winning arahantship through his counsels

Now while he abode in the bliss of emancipation, the Thera Maha naga saw how the six bhikkhus³ habitually failed to show respect to their co-religionists, and he admonished them in verses which became his confession of nāṇa

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
Showeth no reverence nor respect,
From the true Norm he waltz nway,
Like fish where water runneth low (387)

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
Showeth no reverence nor respect,
In the true Norm he doth not thrive
Like rotten seed in furrow sown (388)

Who towards etc
Far from Nibbāna standeth he
Within the Norm Lords cult and school (389)

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
Showeth due reverence and respect
From the true Norm falls not away
Like fish where many waters be (390)

¹ Nothing else is known of this Brother His namesake of the Black Creeper Pavilion is a much later personage (*Jut* iv 400 vi 80 [text] *JRAS* 1901 p 893) The name = great wondrous being or spirit applied equally to a serpent an elephant a thera and to a class of faeries

² See XXVIII

³ A notorious group of intriguers whose doings severely tested the organization of the Sangha See Ps V *Vinaya Texts* i 218 n

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
 Showeth due reverence and respect,
 In the true Norm he thriveth well
 As seed benign in furrow sown (391)
 Who towards his fellows in the Rule
 Showeth due reverence and respect,
 He to Nibbana s very near,
 Within the Norm Lord's cult and school¹ (392)

CCVIII

Kulla

Reborn in this Buddhe age at Savatthi in the family of a landowner, and named Kulla, he was converted by faith and was ordained by the Mester. But he was often seized by fits of lustful passion. The Master, knowing his tendencies, gave him the exercise on foul things and bade him often meditate in the charnel field. And when even this sufficed not, he himself went with him and bade him mark the process of putrefaction and dissolution. Then, as Kulla stood with heart disinclinated, the Exalted One sent out a glory, producing in him such mindfulness that he discerned the lesson, attained first jhana, and on that basis developing insight won arahantship.

Reviewing his experience, he breathed forth these verses, first speaking of himself (then repeating the Mester's words and finally edding his own)

Kulla had gone to where the dead he still
 And there he saw a woman's body cast,
 Untended in the field, the food of worms² (393)

¹ Who towards showeth (not) is, literally rendered. For whom with respect to his co-religionists reverence does (not) exist, or is not found, or seen (cf *Kathavatthi Commentary* on *apalabbhati* p. 8, *Dialogues* ii 165 'is [not] found'). The occasion of these verses as described by Dhammapāla above, let alone the religious consequences involved justify my differing here from Dr Neumann's rendering. For the similes cf CCVII Cult and school = *sasana*

² Cf CCXVIII

'Behold the foul compound, Kulla, diseased,
 Impure,¹ dripping, exuding, pride of fools'² (394)
 Grasping the mirror of the holy Norm,
 To win the vision by its lore revealed,
 I saw reflected there, without, within,
 The nature of this empty fleeting frame. (395)
 As is this body, so that one was once,
 And as that body, so will this one be.³
 And as it is beneath, so is't above,
 And as it is above, so is't beneath. (396)
 As in the daytime, so is it at night,
 And as't was once, so will't hereafter be,
 And as't will be, so was it in the past. (397)
 Not music's fivefold wedded sounds⁴ can yield
 Such charm as comes o'er him who with a
 heart
 Intent and calm rightly beholds the Norm! (398)

These verses were the Thera's confession of aññā.

CCXIV

Mālunkyā's Son.⁵

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthi as the son of the
 King of Kosala's valuer,⁶ his mother was named Mālunkyā,
 and he became known by her name. When he was come
 of age his naturally religious disposition prevailed, and he
 left the world as a Wandering ascetic. Then, on hearing
 the Master teach, he entered the Order, and in due course
 won sixfold abhiññā. Visiting his home out of compassion

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, xix.; *Dhammapadam Commentary*, iii, p. 113 f., on verse 150

² Complacent in calling it 'I,' 'mine' (Commentary)

³ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 202

⁴ Cf. p. 175, n. 1: and verse 1071.

⁵ A second poem of this Thera is given as CCLII. The Thera is met with in *Sargy*, iv. 72 (a Sutta identical with the latter poem), and presumably in *Ang*, ii. 248, and *Mayh*, i, Suttas 63, 64

⁶ *Agghāpanika* Cf. XX *agghāpani*, *Jāt*, i, No. 5

for his kinsfolk, these entertained him with great display of hospitality, seeking to allure him back, and saying 'With this wealth that belongs to you, you could support a family and do good works'

But the Thera, unfolding his disposition, said

Is¹ there a man who careless, heedless dwells,
Craving in him will like a creeper grow
He hurries hankering from birth to birth,²
In quest of fruit like apo in forest tree (399)
Whom she doth overcome, — the shameful
jade,

Craving, the poisoner of all mankind,—³
Grow for him griefs as rank as junglo grass (400)
But he who doth her down,—the shameful
jade,

Hard to outwit,—from him griefs fall away
As from the lotus glides the drop of dew (401)
This word to you, as many as are here⁴
Together come May all success be yours!
Dig up the root of craving, as ye were
Bent on the quest of sweet usura root.
Let it not be with you that, ye the reed,
Māra the stream, he break you o'er and o'er! (402)
Bring ye the Buddha Word to pass, let not
This moment of the ages pass you by!

That moment lost, men mourn in misery⁵ (403)

¹ *Dhammapada*, pp 334-337

² *Hurikuray* in the Commentary seems to mean both 'hankeringly' and 'from birth to birth,' the latter with the former implied. See *JPTS* 1909, p 168

³ To connect *visatti ka* with *visay* may not be correct etymologically. *Visatti* may mean very powerful or withdrawing power, but as an agency we should almost expect *vesattika*. But both Buddhaghosa (*Atthasālinī*, p 284) and *Dhammapāla* connect the word with poison. The latter, however, adds *asattala*. Cf *Dhammapada Commentary* (Fausboll) p. 409

⁴ Cf CLXXXII.

⁵ Cf p 162, n 3, *S Nipāta*, verse 333 = *Dhammapada*, verse 315

'Behold the foul compound, Kulla, diseased,
 Impure,¹ dripping, exuding, pride of fools² (394)
 Grasping the mirror of the holy Norm,
 To win the vision by its lore revealed,
 I saw reflected there, without, within,
 The nature of this empty fleeting frame (395)
 As is this body, so that one was once,
 And as that body, so will this one be.³
And as it is beneath, so is't above,
And as it is above, so is't beneath. (396)
As in the daytime, so is it at night,
And as't was once, so will t hereafter be,
And as't will be, so was it in the past. (397)
 Not music's fivefold wedded sounds⁴ can yield
 Such charm as comes o'er him who with a
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 Intent and calm rightly beholds the Norm! (398)

These verses were the Thera's confession of sññā

CCXIV

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 and he became known by her name. When he was come
 of age his naturally religious disposition prevailed, and he
 left the world as a Wandering ascetic. Then, on hearing
 the Master teach, he entered the Order, and in due course
 won sixfold abhiññā. Visiting his home out of compassion

¹ Cf *Sutera*, xix, *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii, p 113 f, on verse 150

² Complacent in calling it 'I,' 'mine' (*Commentary*)

³ Cf *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 202

⁴ Cf p 175, n. 1, and verse 1071.

⁵ A second poem of this Thera is given as CCXIII. The Thera is met with in *Samy*, iv 72 (a Sutta identical with the latter poem), and presumably in *Ang*, ii 248, and *Majjh*, i, Suttas 63, 64.

⁶ *Aggahapanika* Cf *XX aggahapani*, *Jat*, i, No. 6

for his kinsfolk, these entertained him with great display of hospitality, seeking to allure him back, and saying: 'With this wealth that belongs to you, you could support a family and do good works.'

But the Thera, unfolding his disposition, said :

Is ¹ there a man who careless, heedless dwells,
Craving in him will like a creeper grow.
He hurries hankoring from birth to birth,²
In quest of fruit like ape in forest tree. (399)
Whom she doth overcome, — the shameful
jade,
Craving, the poisoner of all mankind,—³
Grow for him griefs as rank as jungle-grass (400)
But he who doth her down,—the shameful
jade,
Hard to outwit,—from him griefs fall away
As from the lotus glides the drop of dew (401)
This word to you, as many as are here '
'Together come: May all success be yours!
Dig up the root of craving, as ye were
Bent on the quest of sweet usna root.
Let it not be with you that, ye the reed,
Māra the stream, he break you o'er and o'er! (402)
Bring ye the Buddha-Word to pass; let not
This moment of the ages pass you by!
That moment lost, men mourn in misery ⁴ (403)

¹ *Dhammapada*, pp 334 337.

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⁴ Cf. CLXXXII.

⁵ Cf p 162, n 3; *S-Nipāta*, verse 233 = *Dhammapada*, verse 815

As dust [mixed and defiled], is carelessness;
 And dust-defilement comes through carelessness.
 By earnestness and by the Lore ye hear,
 Let each man from his heart draw out the
 spear.¹ (404)

CCXV

Sappadāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavattthu as the son of the King² Suddhodana's chaplain, he was named Sappadāsa. He received faith on the occasion of the Master's visit to his own people,³ and entered the Order. Overmastered by corrupt habits of mind and character (the *kilesa's*), he never got concentration and singleness of mind. This finally distressed him so much that he was about to commit suicide, when, the inward vision suddenly expanding, he attained arahantship. Confessing aññā he said:

Full five and twenty years have passed since I
 Had left the world and in the Order lived,
 And yet not for one fingersnap of time
 Had I found peace [and sanity⁴] of mind. (405)
 Intent and single vision ne'er I won,
 Distraught and harassed by desires of sense;
 In tears, wringing my hands, I left the lodge.⁵ (406)
 Nay now I'll take a knife or else—For what
 Is life to me? And how can such as I,
 Who by my life the training have denied,
 Do better than set term to it and die? (407)
 So then I came and with a razor sat me down
 Upon my couch. And now the blade was drawn
 Across my throat to cut the artery. . . . (408)

¹ *Sutlers*, verso 131. Commentary, *hadayanigūṭay*

² Distinguished by the Commentary as mahārāja.

³ See CXXXIX. ⁴ *Cetaso samādānay*. Comy.

⁵ Comy.: *anupaniṣṭhamiṃ, bahi nikkhamto*.

When lo! in me arose the deeper thought
 Attention to the fact and to the cause
 The misery of it all was manifest,
 Distaste indifference the mind possessed (409)
 And so my heart was set at liberty!
 O see the solemn order of the Norm!
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done! (410)

CCXVI

Kāṭiyāna.

He was reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi as the son of a brahmin of the Kosiya family² but was named Kāṭiyāna after the family of his mother. Seeing his friend Śamaṇakani³ become a Thera, he too entered the Order. While at his studies he determined to discipline himself at night as to sleep. While pacing on the terrace he dozed overcome by sleepiness and fell right there to the ground. The Master, seeing what had happened, went himself and standing above him called him 'Kāṭiyāna! He thereat rose up saluted and stood much agitated. Then the Master taught him the Norm thus:

Rise up rouse thee Kāṭiyāna seat thee crosslegged⁴
 Be not filled with drowsiness. Watch and keep vigil
 Child of heedless race let not the King of Mortals
 By a simple trick overcome thee self indulgent (411)
 E'en as billow sweeping o'er the mighty ocean
 So may round of birth and age overwhelm and drown thee

See that thou dost make thyself an isle of safety⁵
 For nought else is there may serve thee as a refuge (412)

¹ = verses 269 f. Cf. CCV. CCV.

² Cf. CCIV.

³ See XXXV.

⁴ So the Commentary as the prescribed posture for med. tat. on.

⁵ Cf. S. It. Aṅg. 501.

Lo! for thee the Master hath prepared this Right
Way,

Past all bonds and past all fear of birth and dying
Be thou diligent when night is young, and after,
Strive with all thy might and strenuous make thy
study (413)

Loose all earlier ties, live as befits a brother,
Robed in yellow cloak by razor shaved, and almsfed
Be not fain for pastimes nor to lengthened slumbers¹
Be addicted Contemplate, O Kāṭiyāna! (414)
Concentrate, conquer, O Kāṭiyāna! Make thee
Adept in the path to sure salvation leading
Hast thou won the ultimate purification
Thou shalt reach the Going out, as flame in water (415)
Light of feeble ray is as a wind torn creeper
So do thou, clansman of Indra² clutching nothing
Shake off Māra Cleansed of passion for sensations
Wait thine hour, e'en here in holy coolness dwell
ling (416)

Thus aided by the Master's homily to win the Nibbana
wherein is no residual base of rebirth, the Thera developed
insight and attained arahantship Thereafter he uttered
the verses as taught by the Master in confessing añña

CCXVII

Migajala

Reborn in this Buddha age at Savatthi as a son of the
great lay lady Visākha,³ he would often go to the Vihara

¹ The Cy (Br) supplies the other *ca* after *nidday*

² Kosiya-gotta Kosiya is one of the god Indra's names The application of the simile of the light (lamp) is not I venture to think that Māra's death torch was to be extinguished by Kosiya (*cf* Neumann) but that his own rebirth 'fire grown 'cool and low was in dying out to checkmate Māra's design for his rebirth

³ See *Stories* p 16 n

to hear the Norm. Finally he entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Confessing añña he said

Well taught it is by Him who seeth all—
 The Buddha, offspring of the sun's high race¹—
 Through it all bonds are bygone things, through it
 All constant rolling on² is razed away, (417)
 It leadeth on and out,³ it beareth o'er,
 Through it the root of craving withers up,
 Cutting the poison root, our tragic doom,
 It bringeth us to vile utter end;⁴ (418)
 By severing the root of ignorance,
 It breaketh in pieces Kamma's living em,⁵
 It hurls the bolt of insight on the goods
 That dower consciousnesses at rebirth,⁶ (419)
 The truth 'neath all our sentence laying
 bare,
 And from all fevered grasping setting free,
 Revealeth us to us, by knowledge given,
 Of rebirth as a fiery pit of coals,⁷ (420)
 Of mighty properties, far reaching, deep,
 Averter of decay and death to come —
 Such is the ARYAN, THE EIGHTFOLD PATH,
 Asnager of all ill, auspicious, blest⁸ (421)
 Action it knoweth,—what the act doth mean,—
 And fruit of action as the fruit indeed

¹ See XXVI, CCXXIX

² *Sabbatassavamsano*, 'because it destroys the rolling on of the results of corrupt karma.' Cy

³ *Nijjantiko* Cf *Bud Psy* p 82 n 2

⁴ *Nibbuti* = *nibbāna*—i.e. of all *karma* and *kilesa* Cy

⁵ *Kammayanta attabhavyanta* Cy

⁶ *Vijāṇanāy pariggāhe* *Amabbavādisu yathisaṅkhammuni* viii, *magghare upatthita* Cy Cf *Dialogues* i 313, n 1

⁷ Cf *Majjima*, i 74. Here rebirth in purgatory is specified: the simile is elsewhere (*ibid.*, p 365) applied to sensuous desires, by which rebirth is incurred

⁸ Two words for *śiva* (cf *śiva*, the later popular Hindu deity)

Then saw I Him the Guide, Leader Supreme,
 The peerless Chief 'mong drivers of mankind,
 In glory shining like the sun, with all
 The company of brethren in his train. (426)
 Casting awny conceit and wanton pride,
 A pious gladness filling all my heart,
 Lowly I rendered homage with the head
 To Him among all creatures Best and Chief. (427)
 Well extirpated now and put nway
 Is both o'erweening and hypocrisy;
 The *what* and *that* 'I am' is snapt in twain,
 Yea, every form of self-conceit is slain.¹ (428)

CCXIX

Sumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age he took birth in the family of a certain lay-disciple who had become the lay-attendant of the venerable Thera Anuruddha.² Now that layman's children till then had died young. And the father said: 'If yet one more son is born to me, I will have him ordained by the Thera. After ten months a healthy boy was born to him, and accordingly, when the child was seven years old, he was ordained. And from the ripeness of his insight, it was not long before he acquired sixfold abhiññā, waiting the while upon the Thera. Taking a jar to fetch him water, Sumana through iddhi-power came to the Anotatta Lake.³ And a wicked serpent-king, coiled about the lake, reared its great hood aloft and would not suffer him to get water. Then Sumana took the shape of a garuda-bird⁴ and

¹ Nine forms, says the Commentary. These are enumerated in the *Vīṭṭhāṅga*, p. 363 f. In *Buddhism, māra* comprises all 'intrusions' of the ego. This as entity was a myth, and was not to be set in rivalry over against the myth in one's neighbour.

² See CCLVI

³ One of seven mythical lakes in the Himalaya regions (*Vinaya Texts*, i 124; *Mūlinda*, ii 137).

⁴ The 'roc'-bird of India.

CCXX

Nhātaka-muni.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a brahmin clan, and well educated in Vedic lore, he became known by the mark and order of a graduate as Nhātaka, the bath-graduate. Becoming an ascetic, he dwelt in a forest glade three leagues from Rājagaha, living on wild rice and worshipping fire.

Now the Master, seeing the conditions of arahantship shining within his heart like a lamp in a jar, came to his hermitage. He, filled with pleasure thereat, placed before him food prepared in his own way. The Exalted One ate it; and so three days went by. On the fourth day the Exalted One said: 'You who are of such extreme delicacy, how can you support life on this food?' And thus commenting on saintly content, he taught him the Norm. And the ascetic thereupon from Stream-winner became arahant. The Exalted One confirmed him therein and went. But he, continuing to dwell there, fell ill of cramp. The Master went, and with kindness asked after his health:

Thou who foredone with cramping pains
Dwell'st in the jungle, in the woods,
Thy range confined, in hardship dire,
Tell me, bhikkhu, how wilt thou live? (435)

Then the Thera:

With bliss and rapture's flooding wave
This mortal frame is all suffused.
Though hard and rough what I endure,
Yet will I in the jungle dwell.² (436)

¹ There is a close connexion between the brahmin graduate's and our knight's sacramental bath. A Nhātaka might not unfairly be called a 'O.B.,' Companion of the Bath.

² Cf. Vakkah, CCV.

Wisdom's seven branches practising,
 The Powers five, the Forces too,¹
 Rapt to ethereal heights of thought,
 So will I in the junglo dwell. (437)
 From all corrupting thoughts set free,
 With heart all pure and undefiled,
 Often to contemplation given,
 So will I in the jungle dwell. (438)
 And all the intoxicants that once,
 Withia, without, beset my life,
 Hewn and cast out are one and all,
 Never to rise for me again. (439)
 The factors five are understood,²
 Persisting yet with sovered root.
 The end of sorrow now is won,
 And all rebirth for me is done. (440)

CCXXI

Brahmadatta

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvetthi as a son of the King of Kosela, and named Brahmadatta, he witnessed the majesty of the Buddha at the Jeta Grove inauguration, entered the Order because he believed, and in due course acquired sixfold *abhiññā*, together with thorough grasp of the letter and meaning of the Norm.

One day as he went round for alms, a brahmin abused him. The Thera heard in silence and went on with his business. The brahmin again reviled him, and people commented on the Thera's silence. Whereupon Brahmadatta taught them, saying :

Whence rises wrath for him who void of wrath
 Holds on 'the even tenor of his way,'
 Self-tamed, serene, by highest insight free? (441)
 Worse of the two is he who, when reviled,

¹ Cf. *Compendium*, pp 180, f, d, e.

² = CXX.

Reviles again Who doth not, when reviled
 Revile again, a twofold victory wins¹ (442)
 Both of the other and himself he seeks
 The good, for he the others angry mood
 Doth understand and soothe [checking him
 self] (443)
 Him who of both is the physician, since
 Himself he healeth and the other too,
 Folk deem a fool, they knowing not the Norm (444)

Then the reviling brahman, hearing these words, was
 both distressed and glad of heart, and besought the Thera's
 forgiveness. Yea, he took Orders under him, and was
 taught the exercise of meditating on love towards others,
 the Thera thus arming him against obsession by anger

If anger rise in thee then think upon
 The Figure of the Saw, and if arise
 Craving to indulge thyself remember thou
 The Parable of how they ate the Child (445)
 If, lusting for now lives in heaven and earth
 Thy heart run wild, O check and curb it swift
 By mudfulness, as twere the beast men find
 In young corn grazing trespasser, and bind² (446)

CCXII

Sīrīmaṇḍa

Reborn in this Buddha age at Suyūmaragira in a
 brahman family, he entered the Order through faith got on
 hearing the Master teaching in the Bhesakala Wood³. One
 feast day, while he was seated where the Patimokkha was

¹ *Lat* reviles back the reviler Cf I Pet ii 23 *Dhammapada* verse 133

² These three parables occur in three discourses ascribed to the Buddha *Mayh* i 129 *Saṃyutta* ii 93 iv 196. A similar reference to smiles from the Suttas is made by Sumedha (*Sisters* p 178)

³ Cf XVIII

to be recited at the end of the recitation of the introduction¹ 'for [a fault] when declared shall be light to him,' he pondered on the advantage gained by the confession of faults concealed, and thereupon exclaimed with eager interest and gladness 'Oh, how utterly pure is the rule of the Master! And so expanding insight he attained arahaatship. Reviewing the course thereto with a glad heart, he admonished the brethren

Heavily falls the rain of guilt on fault
 Concealed less heavy where the fault lies bare² (417)
 By death the world is held enslaved by age
 And by decay 'tis shrouded and beset
 Pierced by the dart of craving evermore,
 By itch of postering desires assailed (418)
By death the world is held enslaved by age
 And by decay escorted guarded sure³
 Without a refuge, everlastingly
 Struck as by thief with bludgeon and with
 sword⁴ (419)

Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh —
 Death and disease decay, dread trinity,
 Whom to confront no strength sufficeth yea
 No swiftness aught avails to flee away (420)
 Make thou the day not futile not in vain
 Whether it be by little or by much
 For every day and night⁵ that thou dost waste
 By so much less thy life remains to live (421)
 Whether thou walk or stand or sit or lie
 For thee the final day of life draws nigh
 No time hast thou to dully heedlessly⁶ (422)

¹ The *Nidāna*. See *Vinaya Texts* I 1 f

² This verse is in *Vinaya Texts* III 30 ascribed to the Buddha. Guilt faults are glosses the context there and the Commentary here justifying the application of the simile

³ Occurs in *Saṃj.* I 40

⁴ Pending *earthadando*

⁵ Lit. night only. The Indian reckoned as much by nights as by days

⁶ Cf. *Sūtras* verse 93

CCXXIII

Sabbakama

Reborn in this Buddha age, after the Exalted One had passed away, at Vesali in a noble clan, and named Sabbakama, he, when he was come of age, gave gifts and possessions to his kinsfolk, and following his religious inclination left the world, taking orders under the Treasurer of the Norm.¹ In course of his studies he came back to Vesali with his instructor and visited his family. And his former wife, afflicted, lean, in sorry array and tears, greeted him and stood by. Seeing her thus, affection led by pity arose in him, and losing the deeper view in the present object, carnal feeling came over him. Then like a high bred horse at the touch of the whip, anguish arose, and he departed to the charnel field to learn the lesson of Foul Things. Thenceby jhana supervening, he expanded insight and won arahantship. Now his father-in-law brought his daughter decked out once more in finery to the Vihara, with a great retinue, seeking to make him recede, but the Thera declared to them how he had ejected all such desires as follows:

This twaybased thing, impure, malodorous,
 Full of foul matter, obbing thus and thus,
 Is cherished as the chief of all our care² (153)
 As ludden deer by craft, as fish by hook,
 As ape by pitch, so is the world ensnared (154)
 Sights, sounds and tastes, odours and things to
 touch
 That please and charm, the fivefold way of
 sense
 All these are shown combined in woman's
 shape (155)

¹ Ananda. Sabbakāma is probably the Sabbakāma of Vin Texts iii 404.

² = Sutta Nipita i 11 13. My third line expands the word *pativratā* (for **vīriyati*).

The worldlings, who with heart inflamed pursue
 And woo her, swell the dreadful field of death ¹
 And make accumulation of rebirth. (156)
 But he who shuns it all, as with the foot
 The serpent's head is shunned, he, vigilant,
 Doth circumvent this poisoner of the world ² (157)
 And I who evil saw in sense desires
 And in renunciation safety, lo I
 Detached from all that worldly aims commend,
 Of all th' intoxicants have made an end. ³ (158)

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, verso 502; *Uddāna*, vi 8, *Pin Texts*, III 300

² *Crawling (Cy)* Cf. *verses* 400, 101

³ Cf. *verse* 122

she saluted him with clasped hands as he passed and invited . in with seductive air. Then the Thera, a worldly thought fluttering, resolved then and there to make a supreme effort, and so standing, conjured up meditation and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Concerning this it is said :

Adorned and clad to make a gallant show,
Crowned with a wreath and decked with many
goms,

Her feet made red with lac, with slippers dight,

A woman of the town accosted me, (459)

Doffing her slippers, greeting hands-to-head,

With soft, sweet tones and opening compliment: (460)

'So young, so fair, and hast thou left the
world—

Stay here within my Rule and Ordinance

Take thou thy fill of human pleasures. See,

'Tis I will give thee all the means thereto.

Nay, 'tis the truth that I am telling thee

Or if thou doubt, I'll bring thee fire and
swear.¹ (461)

When thou and I are old, we both of us

Will take our staff to lean upon, and so

We both will leave the world and win both
ways.² (462)

Seeing that public woman making plea,

And proffering obeisance gaily decked

In brave array like snare of Mara laid, (463)

¹ So the Commentary 'If you do not believe me, I, having fetched fire, will make the fire motivated oath.' Cf. *Laws of Manu*, vii. 114, 115 (SBE, xiv), referring to an ordeal by fire for testing veracity. Or only an invocation of fire as witness to the oath may be implied. Such a reading is less forced than Dr Neumann's, who would see in 'truth' and 'fire' the woman's travesty of religious terms to suit her own 'Rule' (*sāsana*).

² See *Laws of Manu* vi., §§ 2, 3, on husband and wife becoming hermits together when both were old.

Thereat arose in me the deeper view:
 Attention to the fact and to the cause.
 The misery of it all was manifest;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed; (164)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly Order of the Norm!
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (165)

CCXXV

Lakuṣṭaka-Bhaddiya.

Reborn in the time of our Master at Sāvattī in a wealthy family, he was named Bhaddiys, but from his extreme shortness, he was known as Lakuntaka (Dwarf)-Bhaddiya. Hearing the Master preach, he entered the Order, and becoming learned and eloquent, he taught others their work with a sweet voice. Now on a festival-day, a certain woman of the town, driving with a brahmin in a chariot, saw the Thera and laughed, showing her teeth.¹ The Thera, taking that row of teeth as an object-sign, evoked jhāna, and on that basis established insight and became a Non-Returner.² And after practising mindfulness regarding the body,³ admonished by the Captain of the Norm,⁴ he was established in arahantship. Later he thus confessed añña:

*Beyond the gardens of Ambātaka,⁵
 In woodland wild, craving and craving's root
 Withdrawn, and rapt in deepest reverie,
 There happy sits fortunate Bhaddiya (166)*

¹ Someone's teeth proved equally efficacious for Thera Mahā Tissa of Ceylon. See *Atthasalini*, p. 200. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 70 n.

² The grade of salvation next below the arahant, in which final death is to come after one more life in one of the remoter heavens.

³ Cf. *Dialogues*, II, 828 f.

⁴ Śāriputta.

⁵ This park is probably that at Macchikasanda, given by Citta to the Order (*Dhammapada Commentary*, II, 74).

whom, after prayers to gods and the like none had been born. They had gone to the Master saying, 'If, your reverence, we shall get a child we will offer him to you as your servant. They named him Bhadda (Faustus), and when he was seven years old, they dressed him in his best, and led him to the Master, saying 'This your reverence is the child we got after asking you, we deliver him to you'. The Master bade Ananda ordain him, and withdrew to the Fragrant Chamber. And Ananda instructed him, and so ripe was in him the efficient cause that, while studying even as the sun rose, he conjured up contemplation, and acquired sixfold abhiñña.

Now the Exalted One knew what had happened, and called, 'COME, BHADDA.' So he went, saluting the Master with clasped hands. This was his ordination. And this Buddha ordination,¹ the Thera, beginning with his birth, magnified when thus confessing añña.

An only child was I to mother dear
And to my father dear By many a rite
And much observance was I gotten ay,
And many prayers To do me kindness
they (473)

My good desiring and my happiness
Conducted me—father and mother too—
Into the presence of the Buddha blest (474)
'Hardly hath he been gotten thus our child
And he is delicate and softly reared
Him do we give O Lord to thee that he
May wait as servant on the Conqueror (475)
The Master took me unto Him and thus
To Ananda did say Quickly admit
This child for he a thoroughbred shall be (476)
And then thus sanctioning my coming forth
The Conqueror withdrew to spend the night
And as the sun rose up out of the dawn
Lo! then my heart was set at liberty (477)

¹ Cf. CCVII *Sūtera* verse 109 n. 4

Then to complete his work the Master, roused
 From quietude 'COMF, BHADDA' called to me,
 Thereby to me was ordination given (478)
 Seven were my years when I was thus ordained
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own
 Hail to the seemly order of the Norm' (479)

CCXXVII

Sopaka.

Reborn in this Buddha age to a pariah's wife, he was called, according to his birth, Sopaka (pariah) Some say he was born in a trader's family This is contradicted by the Apadāna text (pāṭiyā)

*When to my last birth I had won
 Into Sopaka womb I came*

Four months after birth he lost his father, and was maintained by his uncle The latter, when Sopaka was seven years old, was bidden by his own ill tempered son to kill the child So he took him to the charnel field, bound his hands, and tied him by the neck to a corpse, thinking, 'Let the jackals and others devour him,' for he was not able himself to kill the child, who had come to his last rebirth The jackals and other creatures came, and the child at midnight cried

*O what the fate in store for me,
 O! who to the orphan lone is kin?
 In midst of dreadful deathfield bound,
 Whom shall I find to be my friend? ¹*

The Master, at that hour surveying what fellow men were redeemable ² saw the conditions of arahantship shining

¹ *Dayako* benefactor

² *Venejya*—lit., capable of being led

within the child's heart, and drew his attention by emitting a glory, saying

*Come then, Sopāka, fear thou not,
Behold the Man who thus hath come!
I, even I, will bear thee over,
As moon comes safe from Rāhula's jaws¹*

The boy by the Buddha's power broke his bonds, and at the end of the verse stood, a Stream winner, before the Fragrant Chamber². Now his mother sought him, and the uncle telling her nothing, she went to the Exalted One thinking 'the Buddhas know all, past, future, and present'. The Master, as she came hid the boy by *iddhi*, and to her saying, 'Lord, I cannot find my son, nevertheless the Exalted One knows what he is doing?' he replied

*Sons are no shelter nor father, nor any refuge,
For one overtaken by death, bloodbond is no
refuge,³*

so teaching her the Norm. She, hearing, became a Stream-winner, but the boy an arahant. Then the Exalted One withdrew *iddhi*, and she, overjoyed, beheld her son. Hearing he was arahant she suffered him to leave the world, and went her way⁴.

Now he came and saluted the Master, as he was walking in the shade of the Fragrant Chamber, and followed him. And the Exalted One, desiring to grant him ordination, asked him the ten questions beginning 'What is the one?'⁵. He, grasping the Master's intention, supplied the answers, 'All beings are sustained by food,' etc., by his omniscience. Whence the name of the 'Boy Questions' arose. And the Master, satisfied in mind by his replies, ordained him. All this the Thera set forth in confessing añña thus

¹ Cf *Sisters* P's II.

² The Buddha's apartments at the Jeta Vihāra.

³ *Dhammapada* verses 288-292, to Paṭṭacārā, cf *Sisters* p 71.

⁴ Cf the similar episode in Yasa's legend (CCVII).

⁵ *Ahiṭṭaka-paṭha* Cf *Sisters* p 66.

In the shade upon the terraco walking, lo! the Chief
of men.

Thither went I, in His presence worshipping the Man
of men. (480)

Draped my robe was on one shoulder, forth my
clasped hands were stretched,

In the footsteps of the highest of all beings so I
walked. (481)

Then He asked me questions, He so skilled in questions
and so wise.

And unwavering, unaffrighted answered there the
Master I. (482)

Ho The-thus-Como then commended how the questions
answered were.

And the brethren host surveying, to them made this
matter known :— (483)

'Fortunate are they of Anga, and of Magadha, from
whom

Such as he procureth raiment, food and lodging,
medicine

And the reverence that is seemly, yea, they're happy!
so He said. (484)

'From to-day henceforth, Sopāka, come to see Me
when thou wilt.

Our discourse alone, Sopāka, shall thine ordination
be.' (485)

Seven were my years when to me ordination thus was
given.

Now I bear the final body. Hail! fair Order of the
Norm.¹ (486)

¹ I have rendered these relatively crude and artless verses almost literally, not trying to recast them in English more æsthetically satisfying. If there be any truth in the tradition, they were composed by a boy of the people, of natural genius (for deep questions), but of no education. And the youth and lack of literary ability seem to be betrayed in the simply told Pali. There is a world of difference between it and the form and contents of such poems as, say, *Migaḥāla's*, *Kosija's*, or those of the *Kasapa* brothers.

within the child's heart, and drew his attention by emitting a glory, saying:

*Come then, Sopāka, fear thou not;
Behold the Man-who-thus-hath-come!
I, even I, will bear thee o'er,
As moon comes safe from Rāhu's jaws.¹*

The boy by the Buddha's power broke his bonds, and at the end of the verse stood, a Stream-winner, before the Fragrant Chamber.² Now his mother sought him, and the uncle telling her nothing, she went to the Exalted One, thinking 'the Buddhas know all, past, future, and present.' The Master, as she came, hid the boy by *iddhi*, and to her saying, 'Lord, I cannot find my son, nevertheless the Exalted One knows what he is doing?' he replied:

*Sons are no shelter nor father, nor any kinsfolk.
For one o'erta'en by death, bloodbond is no
refuge, . . .³*

so teaching her the Norm. She, hearing, became a Stream-winner, but the boy an arahant. Then the Exalted One withdrew *iddhi*, and she, overjoyed, beheld her son. Hearing he was arahant, she suffered him to leave the world, and went her way.⁴

Now he came and saluted the Master, as he was walking in the shade of the Fragrant Chamber, and followed him. And the Exalted One, desiring to grant him ordination, asked him the ten questions beginning: 'What is the one?'⁵ He, grasping the Master's intention, supplied the answers, 'All beings are sustained by food,' etc., by his omniscience. Whence the name of the 'Boy-Questions' arose. And the Master, satisfied in mind by his replies, ordained him. All this the Thera set forth in confessing aññā thus:

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, p. 21.

² The Buddha's apartments at the Jeta Vihāra.

³ *Dhammapada*, verses 288, 289, to Paṭṭhacū, cf. *Sisters*, p. 71.

⁴ Cf. the similar episode in Yasa's legend (CXVII).

⁵ *Khuddaka pāṭha*. Cf. *Sisters*, p. 66.

In the shade n̄ on the terrace walking lo' the Chief
of men

Thither went I in His presence worshipping the Man
of men (180)

Draped my robe was on one shoulder forth my
clasped hands were stretched

In the footsteps of the highest of all beings so I
walked (181)

Then He asked me questions He so skilled in questions
and so wise

And unwavering unaffrighted answered there the
Master I (182)

He The thus Come thou commended how the questions
answered were

And the brethren host surveying to them made this
matter known — (183)

'Fortunate are they of Anga and of Magadha from
whom

Such as he procureth raiment, food and lodging
medicine

And the reverence that is seemly, yea they re happy'
so He said (184)

'From to-day henceforth Sopaka come to see Me
when thou wilt

Our discourse alone Sopaka shall thine ordination
be (185)

Even were my years when to me ordination thus was
given

Now I bear the final body Him! fair Order of the
Norm¹ (186)

¹ I have rendered these relatively crude and artless verses almost literally not trying to recast them in English more æsthetically satisfying. If there be any truth in the tradition they were composed by a boy of the people of natural genius (for deep quest ones) but of no education. And the youth and lack of literary ability seem to be betrayed in the simply told Pali. There is a world of difference between it and the form and contents of such poems as, say *Miga ālaṣa* *Kosava*, or those of the *Kasapa* brothers.

CCXXVIII

Sarabhanga

Reborn in this Buddha age at Rajagaha, as the son of a certain brahmin, he was given a name according to or independent of family traditions, he having no distinctive marks¹ [and that name is forgotten] But he became, when of age, an ascetic, making a hut for himself out of reed stalks, which he had broken off, and from that time he was known as Sara bhanga—reed plucker. Now the Exalted One, looking over the world with the Awakened Eye discerned in him the conditions of arahantship, and going to him taught him the Norm. And he, convicted and becoming a member, in due course won arahantship, continuing to live in his hut. This became decayed and crumbling, and people noticing it, said 'Why, your reverence, do you not repair it?' Tha Thera, saying 'The hut was made when I was doing ascetic practices now I cannot do the like, set forth the whole matter thus

As, reeds in handfuls once I plucked and built
A hut wherein I sojourned hence the name
'Reedpicker' given me by the common voice (487)
But not to me doth it belong to-day
To pluck the reeds in handfuls as of yore
Because of what the training doth prescribe
Revealed to us by glorious GOTAMA (488)
How wholly and entirely he did ail —
That had Reedpicker never seen before
This sorely ailing state he came to see
Through word of Him who is beyond the
gods (489)

The self same Path by which VIPASSI went
The Path of SIKHI and of VESSABHU,
Of KAKUSANDHA KOSALMA
And KASSAPA seen by that very Road
Lo! now to us there cometh GOTAMA (490)

¹ See legend in CCXXVII CCXXVIII



Lo! now to us there cometh Gotama

A magnificent statue found among ruins on the Pushpawar side of the Indus just outside the Harappa site, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

CANTO VIII

PSALMS OF EIGHT VERSES

CCXXIX

Kaccā[ya]na the Great.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Ujjeni, in the family of the chaplain of King Candapajjota, he learned the three Vedae as he grew, and succeeded, at his father's death, to the post of chaplain. And he was known by his gens name of Kaccāna.¹ Now the king heard of the Buddha's advent, and said: 'Teacher, do you go and bring the Master hither.' He, with a party of seven, went to the Master, who taught him the Norm with such effect that at the end of the lesson, he, with his seven attendants, were established in arahantship with thorough grasp of letter and meaning. Then the Master, saying, 'COME, BHIKKHU!' stretched forth his hand, and they forthwith were as Theras of a century of rain-seasons, hair of two fingers' length cut off, and equipped with bowl and robes.

Then the Thera, having successfully accomplished his own salvation, invited the Master on the king's behalf: 'Lord, the King Pajjota desires to worship at your feet and hear the Norm.' The Master said: 'Do you, bhikkhu, go

¹ He was one of the eleven or twelve 'Great' Theras (*Vin Texts*, II, 317, 359), and the teacher of Sona Kuṭṭikanna (CCVIII). In the *Vinaya* and *Nikāyas*, the name usually appears as Kaccāna. So, too the Cy. - The king is met with in *Jāt*, v 133; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 192 ff., and as Pajjota in *Vinaya Texts*, II 185. See also *Kothasaratthāgāra*, I, 102.

yourself by your mission, too will the king be satisfied
He thus bidden went with the seven, satisfied the king's
desire established him in the faith,¹ and returned to the
Master

One day many bhikkhus having put aside their duties
and finding pleasure in worldly activities and in society, were
leading desultory lives. The Thera thereupon admonished
them in two verses and in the next six admonished the
king

Let not a brother occupy himself
With busy works let him keep clear of folk
Nor strive [to copy nor to emulate]
Who greedily seeks to taste life's feast entire
Neglects the good that brings true happiness (191)
A treacherous bog it is this patronage
Of bows and gifts and tracts from wealthy
folk
'Tis like a fine dart bedded in the flesh
I or ering human hard to extricate* (192)

(To the King)

Not evil are the actions of a man
Because of what another [saith or doth],
'Tis of himself he must from wrong abstain
Of their own acts the offspring mortals be² (196)
No speech of others makes a man a thief
No speech of others makes a man a sage
And what we know at heart we really are
That do the gods who know our hearts know
too⁴ (197)

¹ *Sisane*

² = verses 191 and 192 *f*

³ *M. Jh. iii 203 Ang. 11. 7^o*

⁴ The Commentary reads *att ca nañ yath vedhī nañ sattañ
tassa attā cittañ yathā ayañ parivāḍḍhā aparivāḍḍhā cā tñ yathavāḍḍhā
avedhī matī*. The devas are then credited—i. e., the purer gods—with
knowing the thoughts of others

People can never really understand
 That we are here but for a little spell.
 But they who grasp this truth indeed,
 Suffer all strife and quarrels to abate.¹ (498)
 The wise man is alive, and he alone,
 Although his wealth be utterly destroyed;
 And if the man of wealth do wisdom lack,
 For all his wealth he doth not truly live. (499)

(*To the King consulting him about a dream*)²

Things of all sorts by way of ear we hear;
 Things of all sorts by way of eye we see;
 And for the wise and strong it is not fit
 All to neglect as things unseen, unheard (500)
 Let him as seeing be as he were blind,
 Let him as hearing be as he were deaf,
 Let him, in wisdom versed, be as one dumb,
 And let the man of strength be as the weak;
 But let the thing of genuine good arise—
 Be that for him the nesting place of thought³ (501)

¹ = verse 275

² The king's dream is not told. He is only said to have gone next day to the Thera and told it 'in the order in which he had seen it'. The oracular reply may not have proved satisfying, but it is quite in keeping with the 'Great Sīla' of *Dialogues*, i 17(4). The chaplain was largely an astrologer and dream interpreter, the Sākya samana was concerned with the bed rock realities of waking life and moral law.

³ The last six lines are quoted in *Milinda*, ii 282f. My own rendering is guided by the high import attaching to *attha* (good) through the 'Psalms,' and by *Dhammapāla*. The latter, it is true, is no adequate guide. He omits any reference to 'in wisdom versed' (see *Milindān*, ii 283, π 27), and makes an attempt to paraphrase the curious *maṭṭa suṇṇaṇ* except by *maṭṭa suṇṇaṇ*. Preceding this word he has *passetha* = *passiva*. The whole poem seems to be a patchwork of annexed gnomic proverbs from the current popular philosophy, annexed like much of *Saṃyutta I* and the *Julālas* by the Canon, and only essentially in sympathy with the Buddhist teaching.

CCXXX

Sirimitta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rajagaha as the son of a very wealthy landowner, he was named Sirimitta, his mother being sister to Sirigutta, whose story is included in the *Dhammapada Commentary*.¹ Now he, Sirimitta, Sirigutta's nephew, found faith when the Master subdued the elephant Dhanapala.² And he entered the Order, and in due course became arahant.

One day rising from his seat to recite the *Pāṭimokkha*, he took a painted fan,³ and reseating himself, taught the Norm to the bhikkhus, and in so doing, distinguished the more eminent virtues thus :

From anger and from hatred free,
Clean of deceit, of slander bare,
Look you! a brother such as he,
When he goes hence,⁴ will weep no more. (502)

From anger and from hatred free,
Clean of deceit, of slander bare,
Ever 'door-guarded' ⁵ brother, he,
When he goes hence, will weep no more (503)

From anger, etc.

. . . of slander bare,
Brother of noble virtue, he,
When he goes hence, will weep no more. (504)

¹ Presumably in i. 434 ff. He was a lay-adherent of Sāvathī

² Called Nālagiri in *Vinaya Texts*, m. 247-250 Cf. *Mūlinda*, i 297 ff

³ So did the learned Sister Khujjatarā in preaching (*Dhammapada Commentary*, i 209).

⁴ 'To another world' (*Commentary*) He is not discoursing necessarily of or to arahants Cf for a different import in the phrase, verse 139

⁵ *Āṭṭha dvāro*, the technical phrase in Buddhist ethics for control over the 'gates' of sense

From anger, etc

Brother of virtuous comrades, he,

When he goes hence will weep no more (505)

From anger, etc

Brother of noble insight, he,

When he goes hence, will weep no more (506)

Having discoursed against anger and so on, he then set forth the supreme career by verses describing the right attitude for individuals, testifying thereby to *añña* in himself

Of him whose faith in the Tathagata

Is firmly planted and unwavering,

Whose virtues are commended by the good

And pleasing in the eyes of Aryans,¹ (507)

Who dwells contented with the Brotherhood,

Who in his views is candid and sincere

'No pauper he,' they say, with so much wealth

Nor sterile and in vain the life of him (508)

So let the wise man so let him who aye

Remembereth that which Buddhas have enjoined,

Devote himself to faith and righteousness,

To know the blessedness they brought to us

And the true vision of the holy Norm² (509)

CCXXXVI

Panthaka Major

When our Master had gone to Rajagaha rolling the excellent wheel of righteousness, Panthaka, the elder son³

¹ Buddhas Silent (Pacceka) Buddhas and earnest disciples (*Buddha savakā*)

² = verse 204

³ The untimely birth of the boys when their mother had set out to return to her kinsfolk, their being named 'Rolling the Greater and the Less' and their going to live with her kinsfolk, is briefly sketched here, but is told more fully in *Jit*, i 14 ff., and *Anguttara Commentarj* on i 26

of a rich councillor's daughter and one of her father's servants, used to go with his grandfather to hear the Master, and so won faith with insight. Entering the Order, he became highly versed in the Buddha-Word, and in the four abstract jhānas, in due time becoming arahant. Dwelling in the bliss of jhāna and of fruition, he was reviewing one day his achievement, and in great joy thereat burst into a 'lion's roar' thus:

When first I saw the blessed Master, Him
 For whom no fear can anywhence arise,
 A wave of deep emotion filled my soul
 At sight of Him, the peerless man of men. (510)
 Had a man erst on hands and knees besought
 Favour of Fortune's goddess hither come,
 And won the grace of Master such as this,
 Still might he fail to win [the thing he
 sought].¹ (511)

I for my part [all hindrance] cast away—
 [The hope of] wife and children, coin and corn,²
 And let my hair and beard be shorn, and forth
 Into the homeless life I went from home. (512)
 The life and training practising, all faculties
 Well held in hand, in loyalty to Him,
 Buddha supreme, master of self I lived. (513)
 Then longing rose within my heart, I yearned
 [To consummate]: 'Now will I no more sit,
 Not even for a moment, while the dart
 Of craving sticketh and is not withdrawn. (514)
 Of me thus aye abiding, O! behold³
 And mark the onward stride of energy:

¹ 'Unlucky . . . fail at the ninth moment' (? eleventh hour), says the Commentary, which sees, moreover, in *ariya* an allusion not to the goddess of luck (*Buddhist India*, p. 217), but to the *ariyasāyana* or *cathedra* of a teacher.

² Living as a minor with his grandparents, he had as yet none of these, remarks the Commentary.

³ For this and following lines, cf. verses 167, 224, 296, 332, 477.

CANTO IX

PSALM OF NINE VERSES

CCXXXII

Bhuta

REBORN in this Buddha age in a suburb of the city of Sakete as the son of a wealthy concellor, he was the last and only surviving child the others having been devoured by a hostile Yakkha. He was therefore well guarded, but the demon (*bhūta*) had meanwhile gone to wait on Vessavana¹ and came back no more. On the child's naming day he was called Bhuta, for they said 'May compassionate non humane protect him!' ² He by virtue of his merit having grown up without accident reared with three residences as was Yasa³ went when the Master came to Saketa with other laymen to the Vihara and heard the Norm. Entering the Order, he went to dwell in a cave on the banks of the River Ajakaraṇi⁴. There he won arahantship. Thereafter he visited his relatives out of kindness to them staying himself in the Añjana Wood. When they besought him to stay urging that this would result in mutual benefit the Thera, declaring his love for and happiness in the monachistic life spoke these lines before he left them

¹ Ruler of the northern quarter of the skies and of the Yakkhas (*Dialogues* II 259-305)

² Thus compelling the propitiation of such creatures by making them sponsors! Bhuta = spirit sprite creature

³ CXVII

⁴ Cf Sappaka, CXCVI

When the wise man hath grasped, that age and death,
yea, all

Whereto the undiscerning world-folk cling is Pain,
And Pain thus understanding, dwells with mind
intent

And rapt in ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (518)

When the fell poisoner¹ he hath banned who bringeth
pain,—

Ay, even Craving, who doth sweep him towards the
pain

Of being prisoned in the web of many things,
Obsessed,²—and he delivered dwells with mind intent
And rapt in ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (519)

When by insight he sees the happy-omened Path,
Twice fourfold, ultimate, that purifies from all
That doth defile, and seeing, dwells with mind intent,
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (520)

When work of thought makes real and true the way
of peace,

From sorrow free, untarnished and uncorrelated,³
Cleansing from all that doth defile, and severing
From every bond and fetter, and the brother sits
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (521)

When in the lowering sky thunders the storm-cloud's
drum,

And all the pathways of the birds are thick with rain

¹ On *viñatti* see p. 213, n. 8

² With this phrase *papañca saṅkhatta* (= *dukkhaddharmadhanaṅga*), cf. *Maṅgla*, i 271, l. 1; *Bh.*, l. 29; *Mūlaka*, 220, l. 7. The Commentary's explanation is very lame, but it paraphrases *papañca* as *vitthi* (*vitthi*).

³ *Asaṅkhalaya*. Na kammaṇi paccayena saṅkhalan ti (Commentary).

The brother sits within the hollow of the hills,
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
 Is given to men than this. (522)

Or when by rivers on whose banks together crowd
 Garlands of woodland blossoms bright with many a
 hue,
 With heart serene the brother sits upon the strand,
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
 Is given to men than this. (523)

Or when at dead of night in lonely wood god rains,
 And beasts of fang and tusk¹ ravin and cry aloud,
 The brother sits within the hollow of the hills,
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no greater bliss
 Is given to men than this. (524)

When he hath checked the mind's discursive restlessness,²
 And to the mountain's bosom hies and in some cove
 Sits sheltered, free from fear and from impediment,
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no greater bliss
 — Is given to men than this. (525)

When he in healthful ease abides, abolisher
 Of stain and stumbling-stone and woe, open to peace³
 The portals of the mind, lust-free, immune from dart,⁴
 Yea, all intoxicants become as nought, and thus
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no greater bliss
 Is given to men than this. (526)

¹ The Commentary instances lions and tigers—true of course only of remoter haunts. Cf. at least *Sisters*, p. 151 n

² *Vitaḷḷa*, a word to indicate the application of attention to this and that, hindering concentrated thought.

³ *Let, one who is unshaken? The Jāt is ignorance hindering the entrance of Nibbāna*, says the Commentary.

⁴ By 'dart,' craving is always implied.

CANTO X

PSALMS OF TEN VERSES

CCXXXIII

Kāludayin

He going on in rebirth among gods and men, was born on the same day as our Bodhisat, in the family of one of the king's ministers at Kapuavatthu. Yea, on that one day were born these seven: the Bodhisat, the Bodhi-tree, the mother of Rahula, and the four treasures—the riding-elephant, the horse Kanthaka, Channa, and Kaludayin¹. Now on his naming day, the child was called Udayin, and because he was dark of feature he became known as Kal'-Udayin. He grew up as the play-fellow of the Bodhisat. But later, when the Lord of the World had gone forth in the Great Renunciation, had become omniscient, and was staying in the Bamboo Grove near Rajagaha, rolling on the excellent wheel of the Norm, King Suddhodana heard thereof, and sent a minister with a suite of a thousand, saying 'Bring my son hither'. And that minister and suite, arriving when the Norm was being preached, heard, and all becoming arabsants, the Master stretched forth his hand, saying 'Come ye, bhikkhus!'. And they abiding among the Anyas, did not deliver the king's message. And the like happened with other messengers. So the king sent Kaludayin, saying. 'This Udayin is of the same age as the Ten

¹ On these seven 'Connatal Ones' see *Bud. Birthstories* 63 n., cf. *Dialogues*, II, 202-203.

powered, and is akin to me and affectionate; I will send him; go you, my dear, with a thousand men, and bring the Ten-powered One.' So he went, saying: 'If I, sire, may leave the world, then will I bring hither the Exalted One.' 'Whatever you do, show me my son,' was the reply. He, too, fared like the first minister and became arahant. Now he thought: 'Not yet is it time for Him to go to the city. When the rains have come, and the woods are in flower and the earth is covered with verdure, then 'twill be time.' And when the time was come, he spoke these verses to the Master, praising the beauty of the journey:

Now crimson glow the trees, dear Lord, and
cast

Their ancient foliage in quest of fruit!
Like crests of flame they shine irradiant,
And rich in hope, great Hero, is the hour. (527)
Verdure and blossom-time in every tree,
Where'er we look delightful to the eye,
And every quarter breathing fragrant airs,²
While petals falling, yearning comes for fruit:—
'Tis time, O Hero, that we set out hence. (528)
Not over hot, nor over cold, but sweet,
O Master, now the season of the year.
O let the Sākiyans and the Koliyans
Behold thee with thy face set toward the
West,
Crossing the [border river] Rohinī.³ (529)

¹ 'Though without will, they express the setting about a voluntary act, is the comment

² *Pavanti gandhāṃ viśayenti* (Commentary)

³ 'From this river, flowing through the land of those two clans, from north to south,' writes Dhammapāla, 'Rājagaha lies S.E., there fore to go from thence to Kapilavatthu, one crosses it facing W.,' or north west, a journey of 60 yojanas (p. 9, about 435 miles). On this river, now the Rowā, or Rohwānī, see the detailed account in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, xii, p. 190 ff. Kāḷudāyīn 'then makes known his own aspirations by similes' (Commentary)

In hope the field is ploughed, in hope the seed is sown,

In hope of winning wealth merchants fare over sea.
The hope I cherish, may that hope be realized ! (530)

Again and yet again is seed in furrow sown.

Again and yet again the cloud-king sends down rain,

Again and yet again the ploughmen plough the field,

Again and yet again comes corn into the realm. (531)

Again and yet again do beggars go their round ;

Again and yet again the generous donors give ;

Again and yet again when many gifts are given,

Again and yet again the donors find their heaven. (532)

Surely a hero lifts to lustrous purity

Seven generations past wherever he be born.

And so methinks can He, the vastly wise, the god

Of gods. In Thee is born in very truth a Seer. (533)

Suddhodana is named the mighty prophet's sire,

And mother of the Buddha was [our queen] Māyā.

She, having borne the Wisdom being in her womb,

Found, when the body died, delight in Tusita.¹ (534)

She, Gotamid, dying on earth, deceasing hence,

Now lives in heavenly joys attended by those gods. (535)

Now when the Exalted One, thus besought, discerned salvation coming for many by his going, he set out attended by 20,000 arahants, walking a yojana each day. And the Thera went by power of iddhi to Kapilavatthu, into the king's presence. 'Who are you?' he was asked; and he: 'If you know not the minister's son whom you sent to the Exalted One, know that I am he':

Son of the Buddha I, yea, e'en of such as He,

Th' Angirasa, to whom there lives not any peer.

¹ *The Heaven of Delight, fourth above this world* Cf. *Butler*, p. 2.

Who that which is insuperable hath overcome
 And father of my Father art thou Sakyan,
 To me thou, Gotamid, art grandaire in the
 Norm¹ (536)

CCXXXIV

Ekavihariya
 (Tissa Kumāra)

He was reborn in this Buddha ngo, after the Exalted One had passed away, as the youngest brother of the King Dhammasoka. And King Asoka, in the 218th year after that Passing Away, having united all India in one empire, and made his own younger brother Tissa vice regent, enlisted Tissa's friendship for the Sasana by a single stratagem².

Now the prince, while hunting was so impressed at the sight of the Greek Thera, Mahā Dhammarakkhita,³ seated under a tree that he also longed to live so in the forest. When he had seen the Thera's supernatural powers, he

¹ The Commentary gives two explanations of Angirasa, a name applied to the Buddha elsewhere—e.g. *Dīgha* iii 196 *Saṃj* i 196 *Ang* iii 239 *J t* i 116. One is Commentator's etymology the other calls it a second personal name like Suddhattha. The first three graceful gāthās are given more briefly in the Jātaka Commentary (*Buddhist Birth Stories* p. 121). The next gāthā is in śloka; all the rest is tristubh (npavajira) but it is a little difficult to believe that the musical opening and the clumsy sequel are by the same hand.

The specific distinction awarded to Kāṇḍāyina, in *Ang Nik* i 20 is recorded to have been won by this embassy—that of him who best satisfied the clans.

² This is told in the *Mahāvaṃsa* ver. 154-160. *Ibid* 161-172 is a metrical parallel to Dhammapala's prose account in the following paragraph which is slightly condensed.

³ *Yonaka Mahā Dhammarakkhita*. This Thera, not elsewhere called Greek is mentioned, *Mahāvaṃsa* loc cit *Dīpavamsa* viii. 8 *S mantapā s dāla* pp. 314-317.

returned to the palace and told the king he wished to leave the world. Asoka could not in any way dissuade him. Longing for the happiness of the recluse, he uttered these verses

If there be none in front, nor none behind
 Be found, is one alone and in the woods
 Exceeding pleasant doth his life become.¹ (537) /
 Come then! alone I'll get me hence and go
 To lead the forest-life the Buddha praised,²
 And taste the welfare which the brother
 knows,
 Who dwells alone with concentrated mind. (538) /
 Yea, swiftly and alone, bound to my quest,³
 I'll to the jungle that I love, the haunt
 Of wanton elephants, the source and means
 Of thrilling zest to each ascetic soul⁴ (539) /
 In Cool Wood's flowery glades cool waters lie,⁵
 Within the hollows of the hills; and there
 I'll bathe my limbs when hot and tired, and
 there
 At large in ample solitude I'll roam. (540)

¹ I was inclined, before gaining access to the Commentary, to see in these lines the sentiment of *Sutta Nipata*, verses 9, 52

*To him for whom there's nothing in the world
 Either before or after or between—
 Nothing at all to take or to possess . .*

But the Commentary's brief comment reveals, not the detachment of the arahant, but the longing of the court dignitary to be rid of the perpetual attendance of courtiers, retainers, soldiers, etc., ever before and behind and around, sycophantic, or slaves of etiquette, and perhaps traitorous, or at least backbiting. The name adopted by, or fastened on Prince Tissa, *Ekavihāriya*, means Lone dweller.

² *Vinaya Texts*, ii 312, 313. Cf. *Bud Suttas*, p 210 ff., *Sutta Nipata*, verses 34-74, etc.

³ *Atthahasā*, 'in submission to the business of a recluse' (Cy)

⁴ *Yogi-pīṭi karaṇa*

⁵ The wood contains six pools, writes *Dhammapāla*

CCXXXV

Kappina the Great

Reborn before our Master's birth in the border country at a town named Kukkuta (Cock), in a raja's family, he was named Kappina. At his father's death he succeeded, as raja, Kappina the Great. He, to extend his knowledge, would send men of a morning out of the four gates to the cross roads, bidding them arrest passing scholars and tell him. Now by that time our Master had come into the world, and was dwelling at Savatthi. And traders of that town brought goods to Kukkuta and disposed of them. Then saying, 'Let us see the king,' they took gifts and announced themselves. The king accepted their gifts, saluting them, and asked whence they came, and what their country and king were like and what sort of religion (*dhamma*) was there? 'Sire,' they replied to the last question, 'we are not able to tell you with unwashed mouths. The king sat for a gold ewer of water, and they, with cleansed mouths and hands at salute, said, 'Sire, in our country the Treasure of a Buddha has arisen. At the one word 'Buddha,' rapture suffused the king's whole body. "Buddha," say you, friends? And he made them tell him thrice that infinite word, giving them 100,000 pieces. They told him also of the Treasure of the Norm and of the Order, and he trebled his gift, and forthwith renounced the world, his ministers doing likewise. Now they set forth [to find the Exalted One] and came to the Ganges. There they made a determination by the power of truth,¹ saying 'If [there be] a Master, a Buddha Supreme, let not even a hoof of these horses be wetted.' Then they crossed on the surface of the full river, and so crossed yet another river, coming thirdly to

¹ *Saccidhittu na* for the more usual *saccakiriya*. Cf. *JII* 1 Nos 20-35. Cf. 2 *Kings*, 1-10.

Wherefore the Master assigned him the foremost rank among those who taught the Sisters.¹

Now one day the Thera taught the Sisters as follows:

Can ye but see that which is coming ere it come,²

And mark such business as will benefit or harm,
Nor foes nor friends, how'er they seek, will find a
rift (547)

The man by whom the breathing exercise
With self-control is to perfection brought,
Practised with method as the Buddha taught,
He casts a radiant sheen about the world,
As doth the moon emerging free from cloud (548)
Lo! now the mind of me is white indeed,³
Expanded beyond measure, practised well,
Its nature understood, and strenuous;
Shedding a radiance on every side. (549)

The wise man is alive and he alone,
Although his wealth be utterly destroyed;
And if the man of wealth do wisdom lack,
For all his wealth he doth not truly live.⁴ (550)
Wisdom is arbiter of what is heard.
Wisdom doth nourish honourable fame.
With wisdom in his company a man
Even in pain and sorrow findeth joys. (551)

Here is a fact that's not of yesterday;
'Tis not abnormal nor anomalous:
'Where ye are being born, ye also die.'
What have we there save what is natural? (552)

¹ *Ang*, i 27.

² *Patigacca puretaray yeta* (Cy).

³ *Odāṭay* When the Buddha (*Saṃy*, ii 294) points out Kappina to the bhikkhus to praise him, he says: 'Do you see that slight little white (*odāṭakay*) man with the prominent nose coming along?' referring probably only to his complexion Cf p. 3, n. 1, and verse 972

⁴ = ver 409

For after being born wo do but lead
 A life that is a dying bour by hour.
 Whoe'er are born in that same life they die—
 Such is the naturo of all living things. (553)

That brings no good to the dead which is good for
 the living.

Mourning the dead is no bonour nor purification,¹
 Nor is it praised by tho wise, by recluses and
 brahmins (554)

Mourning vexes the eye and the body, wasteth
 Comeliness, strength [of body and mind] and in-
 telligence

If he be blithesome, all tho four quarters become
 Cordial well-wisbers, e'en if his lot be not
 happy. (555)

Wherefore let laymen desire to receive in their
 family

Nono but them that are wise and discreot and
 much learned.

They by the power of their wisdom accomplish
 their business,

E'en as a boat doth effect a crossing o'er tho full
 river² (556)

¹ I do not pretend to have solved the difficulties here. Even Dhammapāla seems to evade them. He reads, for *na lokyay*, *na sulyay*, and paraphrases this by *na visuddhi*. I follow him, as the only way to make the passage intelligible.

² Kappina was one of the twelve 'Great' Theras; his verses, however, are, for the most part, more gnomic saws of popular philosophy than genuine Dhamma, such as was fitted for members of the Order, whom he is said to have been addressing. They would have fitted an early Greek, or any pagan. And it was not possible to get poetry out of them. Dr Neumann succeeds here and there, but only by departing from the original. The change of metre is merely to indicate a corresponding change in the Pali.

And now I know the where and how I lived,
 And clearly shines the Eyo Celestial ;¹
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And what the Buddha bids us do is done (562)

In thousand different shapes did Panthaka
 Himself by power abnormal multiply ;
 And seated in the pleasant Mango-Grove,²
 Waited until the hour should be revealed. (563)
 Then did the Master send a messenger,
 Who came revealer of the hour to me,
 And at th' appointed time I flew to Him. (564)
 Low at his feet I worshipped ; then aside
 I sat me down ; and me so seated aear
 Whenas he had discerned, the Master *then*
 Suffered that men should do him ministry³ (565)
 High altar⁴ He where all the world may give,
 Receiver of th' oblations of mankind,
 Meadow of merit for the sons of men,
 He did accept the gifts of piety. (566)

CCXXXVII

Kappa.

Rebora in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a provincial hereditary rāja, he succeeded his father, but was addicted to self-indulgence and sensuality. Him the Master saw, as he roused himself from a reverie

¹ Above, verse 516

² The property of the court physician and lay adherent, Jivaka. See *Sisters*, p. 139 n

³ The story relates that, whereas Panthaka's elder brother, who was steward, had omitted his junior from the brethren entertained at lunch by Jivaka, the Buddha (who had left Cula Panthaka studying impurity 'by the towel as object lesson') closed his bowl with his hand when food was offered till Cula had been sent for. How Cula's new powers of magic mystify the messenger is told in the *Jātaka Commentary*.

⁴ This rendering of *āyāga*, following Dr. Neumann, is supported by the *Commentary* s *ayitabba thānabhūto*, 'who is become the place where oblations should be made'

of great compassion and surveyed the world for treasure for his net of insight. And pondering, 'What now will he become?' he discerned that 'This one, hearing from me a discourse on foul things, will have his heart diverted from lusts, and will renounce the world and win arahantship.' Going to Kappa through the air, he addressed to him these verses :

Filled full with divers things impure,
Great congeries of excrement,
Like stalo and stagnant pool of slime,
Like a great cancer, like a sore, (567)
Filled full of sorum and of blood,
As 't were from dung-heap issuing,
Dropp'g with fluid—ever thus
The body leaks, a carrion thing. (568)
By sixty tendons kept in place,
And smeared with plaster of the flesh,
By *dermis* armed and cuticle—
In carrion carcass lies small gain. (569)
By bony framework rendered firm,
By sinew-threads together knit,
The which, as they in concert work,
Effect our postures manifold ; (570)
Faring world without end to death,
E'en to the King of Mortals' realm :—
If it be even here cast off,
A man may go where'er he wil! ¹ (571)
The body cloaked in ignorance,
Entrammelled by the fourfold tie,²

¹ On this verse that may have been annexed, proverb wise, from Animistic literature, the Commentary has 'In just this world having cast away (*chaddetiā*) . . . By these words he shows that, since the body is a transitory thing, no tie is to be formed.' Dr. Neumann considers that what may be cast off is the power of death.

² Viz., covetousness, ill will, faith in ritual, clinging to dogma (*Bud. Psy.*, p. 304 f., *Compendium*, p. 171). On the four Floods and seven-fold Bias (*anuraya*) see (*Compendium*, *ibid.*, f.)

The body flood engulfed and drowned,
 In net of latent bias caught, (572)
 To the five Hindrances a slave,
 By restless play of mind obsessed,
 By pregnant craving ever dogged,
 In trammels of illusion swathed — (573)
 Lo! such a thing this body is,
 Carried about on Karma's car,
 To manifold becoming doomed,
 Now to success, to failure then (574)
 And they who say of it 'tis mine'—
 Poor foolish blinded many folk—
 They swell the dreadful field of death¹
 Grasping rebirth again, again (575)
 They who this body seek to shun
 As they would serpent smeared with slime,
 They, vomiting becoming's root,
 Shall make an end sane and immune (576)

Keppa hearing the Master discourse in so many figures
 on the nature and destiny of the body complex, in fear,
 and aversion at his own body, besought him in distress
 for ordination. The Master consigned him to a bhikkhu
 to be ordained. Keppa received five exercises and forth-
 with attained arahantship as his hair was being shaved.
 He thereupon went to render homage to the Master, and
 seated at one side, confessed añña in those very verses.
 Hence they became Therā verses.

CCXXXVIII

Upasena, Vanganta's son

Reborn in this Buddha age at the village of Nālaka as
 the son of Rupasari, the brahminne, he was named Upasena.²

¹ Cf. verse 456

² Brother therefore to Sīraputta (CCLIX) and the three sisters
 Cala etc. Cf. *Dhammapada Cy.* ii 84

Having come of age and learnt the three Vedas, he renounced the world after hearing the Master teach the Norm. Ordained but one year, he thought, 'I will multiply the breed of the Ariyas,' and himself ordained another bhikkhu, and with him went to wait upon the Master. The latter, having heard of this, rebuked his haety procedure. Then Upasena thought: 'If now, on account of having a following, I am blamed by the Master, on that same account will I earn his praise.'¹ And studying for insight, he won in due course arahantship. Thereafter, himself adopting the austerer practices,² he persuaded others to do likewise, and with such success that the Exalted One ranked him foremost among those who were generally popular.³

At another time he was asked by that other bhikkhu, when at Kosambī, what was to be done during the dissensions and the schism there?⁴ Upasena taught him thus:

Lonely tho spot and far away where noise
Scarce comes, the haunt of creatures of the
wild:

'T is there the Brother should his couch prepare
For purposes of studious retreat. (577)

From rubbish-pile, or from the charnel-field,
Or from the highways let him take and bring,
Worn cloths and thence a cloak of patchwork
make,

And in such rough apparel clothe himself (578)
In lowliness of mind from house to house,
In turn unbroken⁵ let the Brother fare

¹ Told in *Lin Texts*, i 175 f. *Jat* n. No 300

² The Dhutangas. See *Milinda*, vol II, book vi.

³ *Ang*, i 24. Cf *Milinda* n 270, also 289, 326, 325

⁴ See p 16, n 2, *Vinaya Texts*, n. 312

⁵ *Sapadanay*. On this term see *JPTS*, 1909, p 72, *JRAS*, 1912, p 736 ff. Dhammapala defines it as *ghareu avakkhanda rakitay, anugharay*

Seeking his alms, sense guarded, well controlled, (579)

With any fare content rough though it be,
Nor fain for other than he gets, or more,
For if he once indulge in greed for tastes,
Neer can his mind in *jhāna* take delight (580)

In great content with very sparse desires,
Remote, secluded so the sage should live,
Detached from housefolk and the homeless,
both (581)

Let him so show himself as he were dull
And dumb nor let the wise man speech prolong
Unduly, when in midst of gathered folk (582)
Let him not any man upbraid, let him
Refrain from hurting, let him be in rule
And precept trained and temperate in food (583)

Let him be one who concentrates upon
The symbol, skilled in genesis of thought
To practise Calm let him devote himself,
And Intuition also in due time (584)
With energy and perseverance armed,
Let him be ever to his studies yoked
Nor till he have attained the end of Ill
Let the wise man go forth in confidence (585)
Thus if the Brother, fain for purity
[Of knowledge and of vision]¹ shall abide,
The working of th Intoxicants shall cease
And he shall reach and find Nibbana's peace² (586)

Now the Thera, in so admonishing that *bhikkhu*, showed
his own attainment and confessed *añña*

¹ So Cy

² *Nibbuti* explained as Nibbāna in life and at death

Having come of age and learnt the three Vedas, he renounced the world after hearing the Master teach the Norm. Ordained but one year, he thought, 'I will multiply the breed of the Ariyas,' and himself ordained another bhikkhu, and with him went to wait upon the Master. The latter, having heard of this, rebuked his hasty procedure. Then Upasena thought 'If now, on account of having a following, I am blamed by the Master on that same account will I earn his praise'.¹ And studying for insight, he won in due course arahantship. Thereafter, himself adopting the austerer practices,² he persuaded others to do likewise, and with such success that the Exalted One ranked him foremost among those who were generally popular.³

At another time he was asked by that other bhikkhu, when at Kosambi what was to be done during the dissensions and the schism there?⁴ Upasena taught him thus

Lonely the spot and far away where noise
Scarce comes the haunt of creatures of the
wild

It is there the Brother should his couch prepare
For purposes of studious retreat (577)
From rubbish pile, or from the charnel field
Or from the highways let him take and bring,
Worn cloths and thence a cloak of patchwork
make

And in such rough apparel clothe himself (578)
In lowliness of mind from house to house
In turn unbroken⁵ let the Brother fare

¹ Told in *Four Texts* L 175 f. *Jat h* No 300

² The Dhatangas. See *Milinda* vol II, book vi

³ *Ang*, i 24. *Of Milinda* n 270 also 289 326 328

⁴ See p 16 n 2. *Imaya Texts* n 312

⁵ *Sapadana*. On this term see *JPTS* 1909 p 79. *JRAS* 1912 p 730 f. *Dhammapala* defines it as *glareu arahanda rahitay anugharay*

Seeking his alms, sense guarded, well controlled; (579)

With any fare content rough though it be,
Nor fain for other than he gets, or more,
For if he once indulge in greed for tastes,
Ne'er can his mind in jhāna take delight. (580)

In great content, with very sparse desires,
Remote, secluded: so the sage should live,
Detached from housefolk and the homeless,
both. (581)

Let him so show himself as he were dull
And dumb, nor let the wise man speech prolong
Unduly, when in midst of gathered folk. (582)

Let him not any man upbraid; let him
Refrain from hurting; let him be in rule
And precept trained, and temperate in food. (583)

Let him be one who concentrates upon
The symbol, skilled in genesis of thought
To practise Calm let him devote himself,
And Intuition also in due time. (584)

With energy and perseverance armed,
Let him be ever to his studies yoked;
Nor till he have attained the end of Ill,
Let the wise man go forth in confidence. (585)

Thus if the Brother, fain for purity
[Of knowledge and of vision]¹ shall abide,
The working of th' Intoxicants shall cease,
And he shall reach and find Nibbāna's peace² (586)

Now the Thera, in so admonishing that bhikkhu, showed his own attainment, and confessed aññā.

¹ So Cy.

² Nibbuti, explained as Nibbāna in life and at death.

CCXXXIX

Gotama.

Reborn before the manifestation of our Exalted One at Sāvattthī, in a brhmin family from Udicea,¹ he grew up an expert in the Vedas and an unrivalled orator.

Now our Exalted One, having arisen and started the rolling of the wheel of the Norm, after converting Yasa and his friends,² came on to Sāvattthī at the urgent request of Anāthapiṇḍika. Gotama the brahmin saw and heard him, and asked for ordination. Ordained by a bhikkhu at the Master's bidding, he attained nrahantship even as his hair was being shaved. After a long residence in the Kosala country, he returned to Sāvattthī. And many of his relations, eminent brahmins, waited upon him and asked him which, of the many gospels³ as guides to life that were current, he judged should be followed. He addressed them thus:

Let the recluse discern his own real good,
 And let him well consider all the Word
 He heareth preached, and what therein beseems
 The holy life whereunto he hath come. (587)
 Religious friendships in the Rule, a course
 Of ample training, and the wish to hear
 Men fit to teach:—this the recluse beseems. (588)
 For Buddhas reverence; towards the Norm
 Honour sincere; for the Fraternity
 Care and esteem:—this the recluse beseems. (589)
 Of decorous habit and in living pure,
 In conduct blameless, and the intelligence

¹ A north western district Cf p 73, n

² See above, CXVII.; *Bud. Birth Stories*, p 130

³ Lit, purity doctrines (*suddhikāṇḍi*) It would appear from *Ang.* iii 277 (cf *Dialogues*, i 220), that among such doctrinaires were those called Gotamakās, or Gotamists. Apparently none of the three Theras called Gotama (CXXIX, CLXXIII, and above) was this doctrinaire. In the Cy he is termed 'Another' (Apara) Gotama.

Adjusted well —thus the recluse beseems (590)
 In what he does and what he leaves undone
 Using deportment that doth favour find,
 To higher training of the heart and mind
 Fervently given —thus the recluse beseems (591)
 Haunts of the forest, lone, remote where sounds
 May hardly come, 'mong these the earnest
 sage
 Should make his choice —thus the recluse be
 seems (592)
 And virtue, and much learning, and research
 To know how in themselves things really are,
 Grasp of the Truths —thus the recluse be
 seems (593)
 To meditate upon the Impermanent
 And on the absence of all soul, and on
 The foul, and in the world to find no charm
 To bind the heart —thus the recluse beseems (594)
 To meditate on Wisdom's seven arms,
 On paths to mystic potency, on powers
 And forces five, and on the eightfold Path
 The Ariyan¹ —thus the recluse beseems (595)
 Let the true sage put Craving far away,
 Let him uproot and crush the Intoxicants,
 Let him live Free —thus the recluse beseems (596)

Thus the Therā, in praising the course suitable to a recluse, magnified the efficiency of his Order, and contrariwise the ineffectualness of a recluse not of it. Then those brahmins mightily approving of the Rule, were established in the precepts and so forth

¹ Cf. Ariyan conveyed to Buddhists much what our 'Christian' does to us. Originally a racial term it had come to mean 'noble, gentle, and specifically a saintly 'confessor of the Dhamma. These subjects are the thirty seven 'bodhipakkhaya dhammā or Factors of Enlightenment less the four Onsets of Mindfulness (verses 166-352) and the four Supreme Efforts. See *Commentary* p. 179 f.

CANTO XI

PSALM OF ELEVEN VERSES

CCXL

Sankleca.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvetthī in a family of very eminent brahmins, his mother died just prior to his birth, so that he was discovered unburnt upon the funeral pyre. For the life of a being in his last birth cannot perish ere he attain arahantship, even if he fell down Mount Sineru. At seven years of age, when he heard of his mother dying at his birth, he was thrilled, and said, 'I will leave the world.' So they brought him to Sāriputta. And he won arahantship even as his hair was being cut off. How he offered his life to brigands to save 8,000 bhikkhus is told in the Dhammapada Commentary.¹

Now a certain layman, desiring to wait upon him, asked him to dwell in the neighbourhood, saying :

What is the gain for thee, dear lad,² to dwell
During the rains within the distant woods,
Like Ujjuhāna, marshy, jungle-crowned ?
Sweeter for thee Verambhā, Cave of Winds,
Since they who meditate must dwell apart.³ (597)

¹ Vol II, pp 240-252 the story of Sanklecca the novice, and how he converted the highwaymen, explaining the circumstances of *Dhammapada*, verse 110. With his birth, cf *Dabba*, V, p 10, n 4.

² *Tāta*, speaking to the boy as if he were his father, says *Dhammapāla*. Kim, he adds, is for *ko* (*attho*).

³ Ujjuhāna is said to have been either a hill covered with jungle and abounding in waters, or a bird that dwelt in thickets during the

The Master hath my fealty and love,
 And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done.
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore;¹
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (604)
 The Good for which I bade the world farewell,
 And left the home a homeless life to lead,
 That highest Good have I accomplished,
 And every bond and fetter is destroyed.² (605)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour,
 Like any hireling who hath done his task. (606)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 With mind discerning and with heedfulness.³ (607)

¹ 'The load of the Khandhas' (Commentary)—i.e., he had removed the cause (*tanhā*, see next line) of their future renewal. He now concludes his reply in terms of the question put to him, viz., of 'good,' or 'gain' (*attha*)

² = ver. 136, 380.

³ See CLXVIII, CCLIX. (1002 f), cf *Milinda*, i 70. The hireling, working for another, takes no great joy in the completion of his work (Commentary). Cf. *Laws of Manu* (S B E xxv), p 207

CANTO XII

POEMS OF TWELVE VERSES

CCXLI

Sīlavat.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as a son of King Bimbisāra, he was named Sīlavat. When he was come of age, his brother Ajātasattu was king, and wished to put him to death, but was unable, because Sīlavat was in his last span of life, and had not won arahantship.¹ Then the Exalted One, discerning what was going on, sent Moggallāna the Great to fetch him. And Prince Sīlavat alighted from his elephant, and did obeisance to the Exalted One. Then the latter taught him, adapting the doctrine to his temperament, so that the youth won faith, entered the Order, and in due time became an arahant. He dwelt in Kosala, and when Ajātasattu sent men to murder him, he taught them and converted them, so that they, too, joined the Order. And he preached to them thus :

*In morals² 'tis that ye should train yourselves
Here on this earth, in morals practised well*

¹ Cf. CCXVII CCXL, also *Vinaya Texts*, iii 211 f

² I was tempted to retain the pretty word *sīla* for our more cumbersome 'morality,' etc. 'Virtue' is more elegant, but a little vague. *Sīla* is moral habit, habitual good, or moral conduct—the conduct of one who does not hurt or rob living things, is sexually straight, truthful, and gentle of speech and sober as to drink. That is all. Such conduct is only the essential basis of the higher life. The sermon is addressed to hired assassins, not to bhikkhus.

For moral culture well applied doth bring
 Near to our reach success of every kind ¹ (608)
 Let the wise man protect his morals well,
 Who doth to threefold happiness aspire
 A good name and the gain of this world's goods
 And, when this life is o'er, the joys of heaven (609)
 The moral man, restrained, wins many friends,
 Th' immoral, working mischief, loseth friends (610)
 Dispraise and ill fame wins th' immoral man,
 Aye wins the good man fame, approval, praise (611)
 Nothing there is of spiritual worth
 But hath the moral habit as its base,
 Its matrix and its vanguard and its source,
 Make ye therefore your morals wholly pure ² (612)
 Morals do give the tether and the term,
 Light and delight affording to the heart,³
 The strand whence all th' enlightened put to sea,⁴
 Make ye therefore your morals wholly pure (613)
 No force is there like unto moral force,
 Weapon supreme the moral habit is,
 Chief decoration is the moral life,
 Wondrous invulnerable coat of mail ⁵ (614)
 A mighty causeway is morality,
 A peerless fragrance, sov'reign frankincense,
 Wherewith we safely travel far and wide ⁶ (615)
 Good morals are the best viaticum,⁶
 Sov'reign munitions [for life's pilgrimage],
 Good morals are a peerless talisman,
 Wherewith we safely travel far and wide ⁷ (616)

¹ Success as man as god, or in Nibbāna (Commentary)

² *Abhikkusāy* means either the Commentary reads the latter meaning

³ In fording the great river (or sea) of Nibbāna (Commentary)

⁴ The Commentary maintains that *abbhūta* wondrous, means *abbhūta* unbreakable

⁵ Lat from one quarter (of the compass) to another, so acceptable to all men are virtues qualities

⁶ *Sambhūta* is illustrated by the *patbhūta* or leaf wrapped pudding taken by a traveller

⁷ See note 5

The evil minded man¹ wins blame on earth,
 And in the after life a woeful doom,
 A fool no matter where hath sorry cheer,
 Not firmly planted on morality (617)
 The man of virtuous mind wins fame on earth,
 And in the after life the radiant realms
 No matter where the brave are of good cheer,
 Their hearts well stablished in morality (618)
 Chief here below is morals, but the man
 Of wisdom is supreme, 'mong gods and men
 He doth prevail who is both good and wise² (619)

Simha.

CCXLII

Sunita.

Reborn in this Buddha age as one of a family of flower scavengers,³ he earned his living as a road sweeper, not making enough to still his hunger. Now in the first watch of the night the Exalted One, attaining that mood of great pity so largely practised by Buddhas surveyed the world. And he marked the conditions of arahantship in the heart of Sunita, shining like a lamp within a jar. And when the night paled into dawn he rose and dressed, and with bowl and robe, followed by his bhikkhu train walked to Rajagaha for alms and sought the street where Sunita was cleaning. Now Sunita was collecting scraps, rubbish, and so on into heaps, and filling therewith the baskets he carried on a yoke. And when he saw the Master and his train approaching, his heart was filled with joy and awe. Finding no place to hide in on the road, he placed his yoke

¹ *Dummano* and its opposite are usually rendered gloomy and 'cheerful' but the context demands an ethical rendering. The Commentary paraphrases by *papadhammo* etc. and *kāḷjanadhammo*.

² =verse 70

³ *I.e.* removers of cut flowers wreaths etc., thrown aside. This was a 'low hereditary trade'.

in a bend of the wall, and stood as if stuck to the wall saluting with clasped hands. Then the Master, when he had come near, spoke to him in voice divinely sweet, saying 'Sunita' what to you is that wretched mode of living? Can you endure to leave the world? And Sunita, experiencing the rapture of one who has been sprinkled by ambrosia, said 'If even such as I, Exalted One, may in this life take orders why should I not? May the Exalted One suffer me to come forth. Then the Master said 'COME BHIKSHU! And he, by that word receiving sanction and ordination, was by magic power invested with bowl and robes. The Master, leading him to the Vihara, taught him an exercise, and he won first the eight attainments¹ and fivefold abhiñña, then developing insight, the sixth. And Sekke and the Brahma gods came and did homage to him, as it is written

*Thos deities seven hundred glorious
Brahmās and Indras following drew nigh
And gladly paid Sunita homage due
As high bled victor over age and death²*

The Exalted One saw him surrounded by gods and smiled and commended him teaching the Norm by the verse

'By discipline of holy life 3

Now many bhikkhus, desirous of raising their 'lion's roar, asked Sunita 'From what family did you come forth? Or why did you leave the world? And how did

¹ Cf *Bull. P.S.J.* p. 346 n. 3. Cf *Jend. m.* p. 133 n. 3 (read part IX. § 11 for V.L. § 12. The five Jhānas are often taken as four). The sixth abhiñña is abolition of the Āsavas = arambhship.

² Cf *Sisters* p. 146 verse 365. These lines are not quoted as from the *Apadāna*. The spiritual breeding transmitted from the past is doubtless emphasized in æsthetic and ethical contrast with the sordid circumstances of his last span of life.

³ Verse 631

you penetrate the truths? Then Sunita told them the whole matter thus

Humble the clan wherein I took my birth
 And poor was I and scanty was my lot
 Mean task was mine a scavenger of flowers (620)
 One for whom no man cared, despised, abused
 My mind I humbled and I bent the head
 In deference to a goodly tale of folk (621)
 And then I saw the All Enlightened come,
 Begirt and followed by his bhikkhu train
 Great Champion entering Magadha's chief
 town (622)

I laid aside my baskets and my yoke,
 And came where I might due obeisance make
 And of his lovingkindness just for me
 The Chief of men halted upon his way (623)
 Low at his feet I bent then standing by,
 I begged the Master's leave to join the Rule
 And follow him of every creature Chief (624)
 Then he whose tender mercy watcheth all
 The world, the Master pitiful and kind
 Gave me my answer COME BHIKKHU¹ he said
 Thereby to me was ordination given² (625)

Lo! I alone in forest depths abode,
 With zeal unfaltering wrought the Master's word
 Even the counsels of the Conqueror (626)
 While passed the first watch of the night there
 rose
 Long memories of the bygone line of lives
 While passed the middle watch the heavenly eye
 Purview celestial was clarified
 While passed the last watch of the night I burst
 Asunder all the gloom of ignorance² (627)

¹ Cf above Bhadda CCXXVI *Sisters* verse 109

² Nearly identical with *Sisters* verses 172, 173

Then as the night wore down at dawn
 And rose the sun, came Indra and Brahmā,
 Yielding me homage with their clasped hands* (628)
 Hail unto thee, thou nobly born of men!
 Hail unto thee, thou highest among men!
 Perished for thee are all th' intoxicants;
 And thou art worthy, noble sir, of gifts. (629)

The Master, seeing me by troop of gods
 Begint and followed, thereupon a smile
 Revealing, by this utterance made response: (630)
 'By discipline of holy life, restraint
 And mastery of self: hereby a man
 Is holy; this is holiness supreme!'¹ (631)

¹ *I.e.*, says the Commentary, supreme brahminhood (*brahmaññay*), not caste and the like, and quotes *Dhammapaṇa*, verses 58, 59

*'As on a rubbish heap on highway cast
 A lily there may grow, fragrant and sweet,
 So among rubbish creatures worldlings blind
 By insight shines the Very Buddha's child'*

'Holy life,' 'holy,' 'holiness,' are in the Pali *brahmacariyay*, *brahmano*, *brahmanay*

Celestial tribute evokes a smile from a great Thera in Ps CCLXI, verse 1098. One is tempted to think it was because of the humorous element in the situation—the man become as god—and not from complacency alone

CANTO XIII

POEMS OF THIRTEEN VERSES

CCXLIII

Sona Kollvīsa

He got rebirth, in the lifetime of our Exalted One, at the city of Campā, in the family of a distinguished councillor. From the time when his birth was expected, his father's great wealth increased even more, and on his birthday the whole town kept festival. Now because of his generosity in a previous birth to a Silent Buddha, his body was as fine gold and most delicately soft, wherefore he was named Sona (golden). On the soles of his feet and the palms of his hand grew fine down of golden colour, and he was reared in luxury, in three mansions suited to each of the three seasons.¹

Now when our Master had attained omniscience and begun rolling the wheel of the Norm, and was staying at Rājagaha, King Bimbisāra sent for Sona. He, having arrived with a great company of fellow townsmen, heard the Master teach the Norm, and, winning faith, obtained his parents' consent to enter the Order. He received a subject of study from the Master, but was unable to concentrate, owing to his maintaining intercourse with people while he stayed in Cool Wood. And he thought 'My body is too delicately reared to arrive happily at happiness'.² A

¹ This episode and the following occur in *Uraja Texts* ii 1 ff. Kollvīsa, his family name, distinguishes him from the other Sonas (CLVII-CCVIII).

² Cf. CLXX verse 2⁹⁰

recluse's duties involve bodily fatigues' So he disregarded the painful sores on his feet got from pacing up and down and strove his utmost, but was unable to win And he thought 'I am not able to create¹ either path or fruit Of what use is the religious life to me? I will go back to lower things and work merit' Then the Master discerned, and saved him by the lesson on the Parable of the Lute,² showing him how to temper energy with calm Thus corrected, he went to Vulture's Peak, and in due course won arahantship Reflecting on his achievement he thus declared his *anna*

Who once in Anga's realm was passing rich
A squire to Anga's king,³ lo! he to-day
Is of fair wealth in spiritual things
Yea past all ill hath Sona won his way (632)

Five cut thou off, Five leave behind and Five
beyond these cultivate!
He who the Fivefold Bond transcends—a Brother
Flood crossed is he called⁴ (633)

Seest thou a Brother with a rush like mind
[Stuck up and empty]⁵ trisler, keen to taste
External things? Never will he attain
Fulness of growth within the moral code
In mental training, or in insight's grasp⁶ (634)

¹ *Vibbatteti*

² *Op cit* p 8 *Ang* in 374 ff He was to cultivate a just measure of effort, like a well strung lute

³ Bimbisāra was therefore King of both Anga and Magadha. *Cf op cit* 1 n 2 On a pure *jaddaja* passage of *Sutta Vipit* verse 1094 compare

⁴ = *LV* See note there

⁵ *Ura* is thus derived by Buddhists. *Cf* 1: Chillers Dict onary The Commentary has the phrase there quoted 'Leaning aloft the reel of pride' The etymology is probably etymological only, but it expresses what the word means for a Buddhist—and that is all that matters here

⁶ The three trainings. *Cf* my *B III* in chap vii

For such neglect that which they have to do
 But what should not be done they bring to pass
 In these conceited desultory minds
 Grow [the rank weeds of] the intoxicants (635)
 In whom the constant governance of sense
 Is well and earnestly begun the things
 That should be left undone *they* practise not
 Ever what should be done they bring to pass
 For them who live mindful and self possessed
 The intoxicants wane utterly away (636)

In the straight Path the Path that is declare I
 See that ye walk nor turn to right or left
 Let each himself admonish and incite
 Let each himself unto Nibbana bring¹ (637)

When overtaxed and strained my energies
 The Master—can the world reveal his peer²—
 Made me the puerile about the lute
 And thus the Man who Sees taught me the
 Norm (638)

And I who heard his blessed word abide
 I am only and always to do his will¹
 Calm I evolved and practised equipoise²
 That so to highest Good I might attain
 And now the Threefold Wisdom have I won
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done (639)

He who hath compassed yielding up the world
 And hath attained detachment of the mind³
 Who hath achieved conquest of enmity
 And grasping rooted out that bringeth birth (640)
 And death of craving, hath attained and all
 That doth bewilder and obscure the mind

¹ Cf. verse 661 S. sters LIX ff

² The MSS read here some *sa natlay* some *samatay* The Cy exploits both and so does the translation.

³ These lines to the end, occur verbatim in *Vinaya Texts* loc cit and in *Anguttara* i 32

And of sensations marked the genesis :—
 His heart is set at perfect liberty. (641)
 For such a Brother rightly freed, whose heart
 Hath peace, there is no mounting up of deeds,
 Nor yet remaineth aught for him to do. (642)
 Like to a rock that is a monolith,¹
 And trembleth never in the windy blast,
 So all the world of sights and tastes and sounds,
 Odours and tangibles, yea, things desired, (643)
 And undesirable can ne'er excite
 A man like him. His mind stands firm, detached,
 And of all that² he notes the passing hence. (644)

¹ *Dhammapada*, verse 81.

² *Assa* for *Tassa* The Cy paraphrases by *urammianadhammassa*
 . . . *khane bhujjanasabhāṣay*.

CANTO XIV

IOEMS OF FOURTEEN VERSES

CCXLIV

Revata.

This Thera's verse has already been recorded in the first Canto,¹ where is incorporated the admonition to his sisters sons to be mindful. Here are incorporated the verses he published during his life in the Order. This is the point of them. When he had won arambantabhip, he went from time to time with the great Theras, Sāriputta and the rest, to visit the Master, and after staying for a while, returned to the Acacia Wood, dwelling in the bliss of fruition won and in the Sublime Moods.² And thus he continued till he was an aged man. Going thus one day to visit the Buddha, he stayed not far from Sāvattihī in a forest. Now the police came round on the track of thieves. The thieves running by the Thera dropped their booty near him and ran. And the police, running up, arrested the Thera, dragged him before the king, and said 'This, sire, is the thief.' The king³ had him released, and asked him 'Has your reverence committed this robbery or not?' Then the Thera, who had never from his birth done anything of the sort, taught the Norm, by way of showing his incapacity for such an act, in these verses

¹ CXXII. Revata is a brother of Sāriputta and hence a brother of Upasena (CCXXIII) and of Cunda (CCXXI). The summary reference is in Dhammapāla's own words. ² See verse 286 n.

³ Pasenādi, king of Kosala, was a warm lay adherent, and was alive in the Buddha's last years (*Vajjh.* ii 124). Cf. the similar episode with a very different judge on p. 109.

Since I went forth from home to homeless life
 No er have I harboured conscious wish or plan
 Un Anyan or linked with enmity (615)
 No er mine the quest all this long interval —
 'Let s smite our fellow-creatures let us slay,
 Let them be brought to pain and misery' ¹ (616)

Nay, love I do avow, made infinite,
 Well trained, by orderly progression grown
 Even as by the Buddha it is taught (617)
 With all am I a friend comrade to all
 And to all creatures kind and merciful
 A heart of amity ² cultivate
 And ever in good will is my delight (618)
 A heart that cannot drift or fluctuate
 I make my joy, the sentiments sublime
 That evil men do shun I cultivate (619)

Whoso hath won to stage of ecstasy
 Beyond attention's range of fitting sense
 He follower of the Enlightened One Supreme
 To Anyan silence straightway doth attain ³ (620)
 Even as a mountain crag unshaken stands
 Sure based a Brother with illusions gone
 Like very mountain stands unwavering ⁴ (621)

The man of blameless life who ever seeks
 For what is pure doth deem some trifling fault
 That is no heavier than the tip of hair,
 Weighty as [burden of the gravid] cloud (622)
 Even as a border city guarded well
 Within without so guard ye well yourselves
 See that the MOMENT pass not vainly by ⁵ (623)

¹ Cf XLVIII CCXL verse 603

² = verses 999 ff in his brother's poem

³ Namely in the second stage of Jhāna (Commentary) The Commentary cites *Maṅg. Nik.* i 161 Cf *Saṃy. Nik.* ii 273

⁴ See CXLVI and preceding Ps. verse 613

⁵ Cf verses 231 403 and *Sisters* verse 2 and note Here the Com

With thought¹ of death I dally not nor yet
 Delight in living I await the hour
 Like any hireling who hath done his task (651)
 With thought of death I dally not nor yet
 Delight in living I await the hour
 With mind discerning and with heedfulness (655)
 The Master hath my fealty and love
 And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more (656)
 The Good for which I bade the world farewell,
 And left the home to lead the homeless life
 That highest Good have I accomplished
 And every bond and fetter is destroyed (657)
 Work out your good with zeal and earnestness!
 This is my [last] commandment unto you²
 For lo! now shall I wholly pass away,
 To me comes absolute enfranchisement³ (658)

CCXLV

Godatta

Reborn in this Buddha age at Swatthi, in a family of caravan leaders he was named Godatta. After his father's death he arranged his estate and taking 500 carts full of wares travelled about, maintaining himself by trading. One day an ox fell on the road while drawing its cart and his men could not raise it, so he himself went and smote

metatary pertinently adds being born in the Middle Country (p. 107) to the great conjuncture

¹ = verses 606 607 604 605

² Cf. the Buddha's last words (*D. alog. c. ii 173*) and *S. Triputta's* below verse 101⁷

³ The Chronicle relates that he then and there passed away—it became extinct—like a flame going out. There is no passing hence in the Pali term *parinibbāna* as originally conceived

it severely. Then the ox, incensed at his ruthlessness, assumed a human voice and said: 'Godatta, thus long time have I unreservedly given my strength to draw your burdens, but to day when I was unable and fell, you hurt me badly. Well then! whosoever henceforth you are reborn, may I be there as your enemy able to hurt you.' Godatta was thrilled at hearing this, and thought: 'What do I in this way of life who have thus hurt living things? And he divested himself of all his property, and took orders under a certain great Thera, in due course attaining arahantship.

Now one day as he was abiding in the bliss of fruition, he discoursed to Ariyan groups, both lay and religious, on worldly wisdom.*

They stand as any pillar at the gate
 Neither elated they nor yet depressed (663)
 For not to gain or loss to honour fame
 To praise or blame to pleasure or to pain—(664)
 Where'er it be—do they take hold and cling
 No more than drop of dew to lotus leaf
 Hale and serene are heroes everywhere
 And every where unconquered [bound to win]¹ (665)

Of him who rightly seeks and nought doth gain
 And him who gains but seeketh wrongfully
 Better is he who rightly sought and lost
 Than he who gained by methods that were
 wrong (666)

Of them who have repute but scanty dower
 Of wit and them who know but lack repute
 Better the wise men who do lack repute
 Than give it repute and men of little wit (667)

Of praises by the untell gent
 And blame and criticism by the wise
 Better the censure of the intelligent
 Than are the commendations of a fool (668)

The pleasure born of sensuous desire
 The pain that comes from life detached austere
 Better the pain that comes from life austere
 Than pleasure born of sensuous desire (669)

To live by wrong for doing right to die
 Better 'twere thus to die than so to live (670)

They who have put off sense-desire and wrath
 Peace in their heart regarding life to come
 They walk the world from lust and craving free
 Likes and dislikes are not for such a these (671)

The factors of enlightenment the powers
 The *satva* that *stayed* and the *forces* too
 So winning perfect peace as fires extinct
 They wholly pass away *same* and *immune* (672)

¹ The last (*etis ca ad*) from the Commentary *anabh bhava-*
nyato

² See ver 661 n 3

(POEMS OF FIFTEEN VERSES DESUNT)

CANTO XV

POEMS OF SIXTEEN VERSES

CCXVI

Añña Kondañña

REBORN before our Exalted One, in the village of Dona vatthu, not far from Kapilavatthu, in a very wealthy brahmin family, he came to be called by his family name, Kondañña. When grown up he knew the three Vedes, and excelled in runes concerning marks.¹ Now when our Bodhisat was born, he was among the eight brahmins sent for to prognosticate. And though he was quite a novice, he saw the marks of the Great Man on the infant, and said 'Verily this one will be a Buddha'. So he lived awaiting the Great Being's renunciation. When this happened in the Bodhisat's twenty ninth year, Kondañña heard of it and left the world with four other sons of mark interpreting brahmins, Vappa² and others, and for six years dwelt at Uruvela, near the Bodhisat, during the latter's great struggle. Then when the Bodhisat ceased to fast, they were disgusted and went to Isipatana. There the BUDDHA followed them, and preached his Wheel sermon, whereby

¹ *Dialogues* : 17 n 2. On the prophecy see a fuller version in *Buddhist Birth Stories* p 72 f.

² See above LXI.

Kondañña and myriads of Brahma angels won the fruition of the first path. And on the fifth day, through the sermon on 'No Sign of any Soul,' Kondañña realized arahantship. Him the Master, later on, in conclave at the great Jeta Grove Vihara, ranked chief among those bhikkhus who were of long standing in the Order¹. And on one occasion Kondañña's sermon on the Four Truths—a discourse bearing the impress of the three signs, dealing with non-substantiality, varied by divers methods, based on Nibbana, and delivered with the Buddha's own fluency—so impressed Sakka the god that he uttered this verse:

Hearing thy doctrine's mighty properties,
Lo! I thereby am more than satisfied
Most passionless and pure the Norm thus taught,
From every form of grasping wholly free² (673)

On another occasion the Thera, seeing how the minds of certain worldlings were mastered by wrong ideas, delivered himself on this wise:

Many the motley pictures in the world,
Enjoyed within this earth's circumference,
Inciting I do note, man's purposes,
Fain seeming hopes, and linked with fierce desire (674)
As dust by wind upheaved the rain cloud lays,
So are those purposes composed and quenched,
When he by wisdom doth discern and see (675)

When he by wisdom doth discern and see
'IMPERMANENT IS EVERYTHING IN LIFE'
Then he at all this suffering feels disgust
Lo! herein lies the way to purity (676)

¹ *Ang.* i. 28. For the Buddha's sermon see *Vinaya Texts* i. 100 f.

² *Anupadīja* paraphrased by *agāhetī* : *amuttis* *Upanāsa* *paratattā*?

When he by wisdom doth discern and see,
 That 'EVERYTHING IN LIFE IS BOUND TO ILL' ¹ (677)
 That 'EVERYTHING IN LIFE IS VOID OF SOUL,'
 Then he at all this suffering feels disgust
 Lo' herein lies the way to purity (678)

Thereupon he showed that he had himself attained this
 insight confessing añña, and saying

Brother Kondañña, wakened by the Wake —
 Lo' he hath passed with vigour out and on,
 Sloughed off hath he the dyings and the births
 Wholly accomplishing the life sublime (679)
 And be it 'flood' or 'snare' or 'stumbling
 stone'
 Or be it 'mountain' hard to rive in twain,²
 The net, the stumbling stone I've hacked away,
 And cloven is the rock so hard to break,
 And crossed the flood Rapt in ecstatic thought
 I dwell, from bondage unto evil freed (680)

Now one day the Thera rebuked a bhikkhu, who had
 fallen into bad habits through unworthy friendships, and
 admonished him, saying

A bhikkhu of distraught, unsteady mind
 Who doth associate with vicious friends,
 In the great flood [of constant living] falls
 Headlong and drowning sinks beneath its
 waves (681)
 But who, with concentrated, steady mind
 Discreet and self restrained in heart and sense,
 Doth wisely join himself to virtuous friends,
 His it may be to put an end to Ill (682)

¹ Here repeat the two preceding lines Cf *Dham. ajāda*, verses 277-280

² All metaphors from the Suttas—e.g., *Digha Nik.* ii 280 *Saṃy. Nik.* i 105 f. i 27, *Majjh. Nik.*, iii 130

Lo' here¹ a man with worn and pallid frame,
 Like knotted stems of cane his joints, and sharp
 Th' emaciated network of his veins,
 In food and drink *austerely temperate*,
 His spirit neither crushed nor desolate (683)
 In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
 Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
 I yet would roam, like warrior elephant
 In van of battle, mindful, vigilant (684)

With thought² of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living I await the hour
 Like any huceling who hath done his task (685)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living I await the hour
 With mind discerning and with heedfulness (686)

The Master hath my fealty and love,
 And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more (687)
 The Good³ for which I bade the world farewell
 And left the home to lead the homeless life,
 That highest Good have I accomplished
 What need have I as cenobite to dwell? (688)

CCXLVII

Udayin.

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu in a brahmin family, he saw the power and majesty of the Buddha when

¹ = CLXXXIII This to enjoy the hermit life on the erring one (Commentary)

² = verses 606 f 654 f 604 and 655

³ Cf verse 605 The Commentary adds that he went and dwelt twenty two years at the Chaddanta Lake before he passed away only visiting the Buddha shortly before that event to announce his assurance of it

he visited his family, believed in him, entered the Order, and in due course became an arahant. Now there are these three Theras named Udayin: the minister's son, Kāḷudāyin, recorded above,¹ this brahmin, and Udāyin the Great.² This one, when the Sutta of the Elephant Parable had been taught on the occasion when Seta, King Pasenadi's elephant, was publicly admired,³ was stirred to enthusiasm at thought of the Buddha, and thinking: 'These people admire a mere animal. Come now, I will proclaim the virtues of that great and wondrous Elephant, the Buddha!' he uttered these verses:

Buddha tho Wnke, tho son of man,
Self-tamed, by inward vision rapt,
Bearing himself by ways sublime,
Glad in tranquillity of heart; (689)
To whom men honour pry as one
Who hath transcended all we know;⁴
To whom gods also honour yield:—
So I, an arahant, have heard— (690)
From junglo to Nibbāna come,⁵
With every fetter left behind,
Glad in renouncing worldly joys,
Extracted like fine gold from ore, (691)
Like elephant superb is he,
On wooded heights in Himalay:—
Lo, him behold! Nāga superb—

¹ See CCXXXIII.

² It is not easy to elicit from the canonical episodes mentioning āyasmā Udāyi,¹ which is the last named. Such a personage frequently appears, getting into trouble in the Vinaya, conversing with the Buddha and apostles in the Suttas, but never called 'Great,' or doing anything to merit the title. Conceivably he lived nearer the Commentator's time.

³ See *Ang Nik*, iii 345 f, where the psalm is also given. Translated by E. Hardy, *Duddha*, 1903, p. 51.

⁴ *Dhammā*—i.e., things as cognizable.

⁵ *Vanā nib-bānam āgataṃ*, the word play cannot be reproduced. See *Compendium*, p. 168.



On evolutio n H alaj

Fr n X mp n I

h v O x C

F H 3

To a l

For, sure, of all we 'Naga' name,
 (Serpent or elephant or man)
 Supremely true that name for him— (672)
 This Naga will I praise to you,
 For he 'no sin'—*na āgun*—doth.¹
 Mercifulness, sobriety:²
 These be two of the Naga's feet: (673)
 Intelligence and mindfulness:
 Other two feet of this Elephant.
 The Naga's trunk is confidence;
 His white tusks, equanimity; (674)
 His throat awareness,³ and his head
 Is insight; testing touch of trunk
 Is weighing wisely good and bad;
 Shrine of the Norm his viscera;
 Detachment is the tail of him (675)
 So musing rapt, and breathing bliss,⁴
 Composed in body and in mind,
 Composed, this Naga, when he walks,
 Composed, this Naga, when he stands, (676)
 Composed, this Naga, lying down,
 And eke composed while he sits;
 Self-governed whoso'er he doth.
 This is the Naga's perfect way. (677)
 Blameless in all that he enjoys,
 Enjoying naught that calls for blame,
 Hath he but gotten food and gear,
 From store laid up he doth refrain (678)

¹ Naga, whatever its real, not (as here) exegetical, derivation, meant a fury, daemon, or mysterious being. The serpent was as mysterious for the Indian as for Cretan and Greek. So was the elephant. So was the saint. The bracketed line is from the Commentary *Cf Sutta Nipāta*, verse 522.

² On sobriety (*soraccay*, Commentary = *sīlag*), see *Bud Psy*, p. 349. The other two feet are, in *Any Nā*, called 'austerity' (*āpo*) and 'holy life'.

³ *Sati*, 'mindfulness,' above, is also *sati*.

⁴ *Lut*, 'delighting in inhaling,' a word meaning also comfort—namely of Nibbāna (Commentary).

Whether the tie be coarse or fine,
 Bonds of all kinds he knaps in twain;
 Ho goeth wheresoe'er he will,
 Nor careth wheresoe'er he goes. (699)
 As lotus born within a lake,
 By water nowise is defiled,
 But groweth fragrant, beautiful, (700)
 So is the *Buddha* in this world,
 Born in the world and dwelling there,
 But by the world nowise defiled,
 E'en as the lily by the lake. (701)
 A mighty fire that's spent itself,
 And hath no fuel dieth down,
 And of the smouldering ashes men
 Do say 'That fire is now extinct.'¹ (702)
 Lo! here's a parable the wise
 Have taught to make their meaning known.
 Great Nāgas, they will understand
 The Naga, by that Nāga taught: (703)
 With passion gone, and hatred gone,
 And dulness gone, sane and immune,
 This Naga yielding up his life,
 Will clean 'go out,' sane and immune. (704)

¹ *Nibbuto*

(POEMS OF SIXTEEN, SEVENTEEN, EIGHTEEN,
NINETEEN VERSES DESUNT)

CANTO XVI

POEMS OF TWENTY VERSES

CCXLVIII

Adhimutta.

REBORN in this Buddha-age as the sister's son of the Thera Sankicca,¹ he left the world under his uncle's tuition, and while only a novice, won arahantship. And dwelling in the bliss of fruition, he wished for full ordination, and went home to ask his mother's leave. Now as he went, he fell in with highwaymen on the look-out for an offering to their deity, and they seized on him as a suitable sacrifice. He, thus assailed, stood undaunted and without blenching. Then the robber-chief was amazed, and commended him, saying:

Of all the lot whom we, for god² or pelf,
Have snitten in our time, there's not been one
But hath shown fear, trembled and clamoured
sore (705)

But thou, who'rt not affrighted, nay, whose face
Shows brighter bloom,³ why dost thou not lament,
When such a fearsome peril threatens thee? (706)

¹ See CCXL.

² Lat., 'for sacrifice.'

³ Adhimutta was a young novice.

ADHIMUTTA:

No misery of mind, O chief, is there
 For him who hath no wants. All fear have I
 Transcended, since the Fetters were destroyed. (707)
 By death of that which leadeth to rebirth,¹
 The truths are seen o'en as they really are,
 And hence in death there lies no fear for me,
 'Tis as a laying down the load I bore. (708)
 Well have I lived the holy life, and well
 Made progress in the Ariyan Path; no fear
 There lies in death, who puts an end to ill.² (709)
 Void of delight the forms of birth appear,³
 Like drinking poison one has thrown away. (710)
 He who hath passed beyond, from grasping free,
 Whose task is done, sane and immune, is glad,
 Not sorry, when the term of lives is reached,
 As one who from the slaughter-house escapes. (711)
 He who the ideal order⁴ hath attained,
 All the world over seeking nought to own,
 As one who from a burning house escapes,
 When death is drawing nigh he grieveth not. (712)
 All things soever which have come to be,
 And all rebirth whosoever it is got,
 Nowhere therein is personal design:—⁵
 So hath the mighty Sage declared to us (713)

¹ *Bhāvaneti*—*ī e, tanhā*.

² Lit., diseases Cf. Tennyson's *Elaine*

³ And sweet is death who puts an end to pain.

⁴ That 'life is not worth having,' which is Dr. Neumann's rendering, seems to me scarcely sound Buddhism. Life can yield arahantship—the thing supremely worth having, the crown of all previous upward effort. 'Rebecomings are unsatisfying', '*anassādi bhava*' is the literal rendering of the text. We need to leave our own 'saws' behind in getting at the Buddhist standpoint.

⁵ *Dhammatay uttamay*—*ī e*, 'the nature of the Norm, in, and because of, completed arahantship' (Commentary).

⁶ *Na usaray*—lit., that which has no lord or ruler, *issara* is used for a personal creator.

And he who knows that things are even so,
 As by the Buddha it is taught, no more
 Would he take hold of any form of birth
 Than he would grasp a red-hot iron ball. (714)
 Comes not to me the thought: 'Tis I have been,'
 Nor comes the thought: 'What shall I next become?
 Thoughts, deeds and words are no persisting [soul].
 Therefore what ground for lamentations here?'¹ (715)
 To him who seeth, as it really is,
 The pure and simple² causal rise of things,
 The pure and simple sequence of our acts:—
 To such an one can come no fear, O chief. (716)
 That all this world is like the forest grass
 And brushwood [no man's property]:—when one
 By wisdom seeth this, finds naught that's 'Mine,'
 Thinking: 'tis not for me,' he grieveth not.³ (717)
 This body irketh me; no seeker I
 To live. This mortal frame will broken be,
 And ne'er another from it be reborn. (718)
 Your business with my body, come, that do
 E'en as ye will; and not on that account
 Will hatred or affection rise in me. (719)

The young men marvelled at his words, and thrilled
 With awe, casting away their knives they said: (720)
 What are your honour's practices,⁴ or who
 Is teacher to you? Of whose Ordinance
 A member, have you gained this grieflessness? (721)

ADHIMUTTA :

My teacher is the Conqueror knowing all
 And seeing all, the Master infinite
 In pity, all the world's Physician, He. (722)

¹ Lit, 'will pass away' 'Soul' is supplied from the Commentary.

² *Suddha*, pure, unmixed—*i.e.*, with *attā*, phenomenal process only *dharmamattappavatti* (Commentary).

³ = *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 951.

⁴ *Tapas* religious austerities or magic (Commentary)

And He it is by whom these truths are taught,
 Norm to Nibbāna leading, unsurpassed.
 Within His Rule I've won this grieflessness. (723)

Now when the robbers heard the well-spoken utterance
 of the sage,
 They laid aside their knives, their arms, and some
 forsook that trade,
 And some besought that they might leave the world
 for holy life. (724)
 They leaving then, within the Buddha's welcome Rule¹
 grew wise,
 The seven Factors practising and eke the Forces
 five,
 Trained in the Powers, with hearts elate, happy they
 reached the Goal. (725)

CCXLIX

Pārāpariya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as the son of a certain very eminent brahmin, he was called, when adult, after his family name Parāpara, 'the Pārāpariya' (Pārā-parito)² Well educated in brahmin lore and accomplishments, he went one day into the Jeta Grove Vihāra, at the Master's preaching hour, and took his seat at the fringe of the assembly. The Master, contemplating his character,

¹ Lit, the rule of the Welcome (*su-gata*), a title often used for the Buddha. For Factors, Forces, and Powers, see *Compendium*, p 180, called factors, powers, faculties, respectively. 'Reached the Goal'—lit, 'touched (attained) the state of Nibbāna, the unconditioned' The Commentary adds, that the youthful saint went imperturbably on his way, obtained his mother's consent to enter the Order, and was ordained by his uncle. On verse 722 Dhammapāla refers to his own Commentary on the *Iti vuttaka*.

² Connected with, perhaps, but not identical with, the Pārāpariya of CXVI of the Rājagaha Parāparas. This one is the Pārāpariya of CCLVII.

taught the Sutta, called 'Practice of Faculties,'¹ where-upon Pārāpariya found faith and entered the Order. After learning the Sutta by heart, he pondered over the meaning, thinking: 'In verses the meaning would appear so and so.' Thus pondering on the subject of sense-perception he established insight, and in due time won arahantship. Later he expressed his meditations in verse as follows.

To a Brother came these musings
To the bhikkhu Pārāpariya,
As he sat alone, secluded,
World-detached and meditating: (726)

What is there of course or order,
What is there in rite, or conduct,
Which may make a man accomplish
That which to himself is owing,
Nor work harm on any other? (727)
Lo! the parts and powers of humans
Make for welfare and for evil:
Powers unguarded make for evil,
Guarded powers make for welfare. (728)
One who guardeth parts and powers,
One who tendeth parts and powers,
He may do to self his duty,
Nor work harm on any other. (729)
If he go with unrestrained
Power of sight among sense objects,

¹ The only Sutta I can discover with this title (*Indriya bhāṣanī*) is the last Sutta in the *Mayhima Nikāya*. This refers to the methods used by the brahmin teacher Pārāsariya, and then gives the method of 'faculty training' taught in the 'Aryan Vinaya,' the Buddha speaking (at Kajangalā, not Sāvattihī), and the interlocutors being Uttara, the brahmin's pupil, and Ananda. Identity of subject is the one thing connecting Sutta and poem. There is no identity of treatment, and the two problems are set up (1) Was Pārāpariya paraphrasing another version? (2) Was Pārāpariya Pārāsariya himself?

All the evil no'er discerning,
 He doth not escape from sorrow.¹ (730)
 If he go with unrestrained
 Power of hearing sounds about him,
 All the evil no'er discerning,
 He doth not escape from sorrow. (731)
 If in divers kinds of odours
 He indulge, voluptuously,
 Way of refuge ne'er discerning,²
 He doth not escape from sorrow. (732)
 Taste of sour and sweet and bitter
 Relishing and pondering over,
 Cleaving to desires of palate:
 Ne'er his heart will be awakened. (733)
 Lovely, luring things of contact,
 Touching, feeling, pondering over,
 Lust-exciting, he impassioned
 Findeth divers forms of sorrow. (734)
 Yea, who in these sense-impressions
 Cannot guard the mind [recipient],
 Sorrow thereby will pursue him,
 E'en by way of all five senses. (735)
 Body full of blood and matter
 And of plenteous other carrion,
 So by human skill and wit is
 Rendered fair like painted casket. (736)
 That the bitter suffering from it
 Shows as sweetly satisfying,
 Bound to what we hold beloved,
 As a razor blade, that's hidden
 Neath thick crust of honey-syrup,

¹ The Commentary supports the reading *na hi muccati*, altered by Neumann.

² Dr. Neumann's 'Und nicht die freie Hobe sieht' is perhaps unnecessarily free, and is scarcely a good antithesis to fragrant odours, as anyone knows who has left a maledorous Alpine village for the odours of the flower-covered uplands in June.

Undiscerned [by the greedy] ¹ (737)
 He who dotes on form of woman,
 Taste and touch and scent of woman,
 Findeth divers shapes of sorrow. (738)
 All that emanates from woman,²
 Permeating [all men's senses,]—
 This and that man's five gates [open,]—
 'Gainst all these to make a barrier
 If a man have grit and valiance, (739)
 He is wise and he is righteous,
 He is clever and far-seeing;
 For he may, at ease and cheerful,
 Set himself to righteous duties. (740)
 When immersed in temporal profit,³
 If he shun vain undertakings,
 If he judge it right to shun them,
 He is earnest and far-seeing (741)
 Is a work with good connected,
 Is his love set on th' Ideal,⁴
 Let him take the work and do it,
 Other loves that Love surpasseth (742)
 Many, manifold the methods
 Whereby man his fellows cheateth;
 Smiting, slaying, sore afflicting
 He with violence oppresses.⁵ (743)
 As a strong man plying woodcraft,
 Useth nail to smite a nail out,

¹ 'As one greedy of sweet things licking the edge of a razor' (Commentary)

² Lit., streams—i.e., her visible shape etc., objects of sense (Commentary) The Pali is more refined than the Neumann German version, and the dragging in again of the maligned concrete 'Weib'—'Wo nieder man zum Weibe sinkt'—is entirely unwarranted by the Pali

³ The Commentary upholds the *attho* (in exegesis *lato*) *siddati saññatā* adding 'if he lays hold of good of a temporal kind'

⁴ *Dhammagatā ratī*—lit., set on the Norm.

⁵ Redundant *padas*, omitted in translating, have got into the Pali

So the wise and virtuous brethren
 Use one power to smite out others — (744)
 Faith and effort, concentration,
 Mindfulness and wisdom plying,
 Five by other Five outsmiting,
 Goes the saint from flaws released ¹ (745)
 He is wise and he is righteous,
 He hath kept the Rule proclaimed
 Wholly, fully by the Buddha
 He is happy, he doth prosper (746)

CCL

Telakāṇi

He was reborn in this Buddha age, before the Master's birth, at Sāvattṭhi, in a brahmin family, and named Telakāṇi. Matured as to antecedents, he wearied of worldly desires, and left the world as a wandering recluse. Seeking for emancipation of spirit, he toured about, thinking 'Who is he in the world who has got beyond?' and asking questions of recluses and brahmins without receiving satisfaction. Meanwhile our Exalted One had arisen, and was rolling the Norm Wheel, working the good of the world. Him one day Telakāṇi heard, and found faith, was ordained, and not long after won arahantship. Sitting one day with bhikkhus and remembering his own toiling and winning, he declared it all to them thus:

Oh the long days I cast about in thought,
 Ardent to find truth [that could set me free]!²
 No peace of mind I won, [but up and down
 I fared,] asking of brahmins and recluses (747)

¹ Here again the German translation misses the point. Satisfaction with the five modes of sensuous pleasure is to be ejected by the five modes of spiritual sense, sense powers or faculties by spiritual powers. See XV, n. 2 and *Compendium*, p. 180. Cf. above verse 723 n. There is a play on words in *api, nall, aniggho* flawless untranslatable in English.

² So the Commentary, *vimuttiṃ thamman, vimokkhaṃ tharāmo*

'What man in all the world hath got beyond?
 Who in the Ambrosia hath a foothold won?'
 Whose doctrine can I to my bosom take,
 Whereby the Highest¹ I may come to know? (718)
 Caught on a hook within, my spirit hung
 Even as a fish that swallows baited food
 Captured I lay, as Vepachitti once,
 The Asura, in mighty Indra's toils² (719)
 I dragged my chains along, nor found release
 From this [unending source of] grief and dole
 Is there no man on earth who can unloose
 My bonds, and make me know Enlightenment?³ (720)
 What brahmin, what recluse can tell me how
 To break them off? Whose Norm can I accept,
 Able to bear away old age and death? (721)

Behold this loud¹ coil of perplexity
 And doubt, the mortal force of it
 Wearing the temper, stiffening the mind
 And lacerating with a vast desire, (722)
 Fell offshoot from the bow of craving due
 To [forms of false opinion,] twice fifteen²—
 Behold, I say, how mightily about
 My breast this pressure crushes where it lies!³ (723)
 The ruck of vain opinions⁴ not put off

¹ 'In this world among those who are acknowledged as religious teachers who now has gone up to Nibbāna beyond Saṃsāra (i.e., consecutive livings and dyings)? Who is established in Nibbāna, in the path of emancipation? (Commentary)

² Para tattva the supreme good or meaning

³ See *Saṃj Nāḥ* I 220 § 4

⁴ According to the Commentary the 'twice fifteen' refers to the twenty forms (5×4) of *sāṃsāra tattva*, or soul speculation (*Dh. S.*, § 1003 = *Bud. Ps.*, p. 259) and the ten forms of *micchādiṭṭhi* (*Vibhanga* p. 392)

⁵ I read with the Commentary *bhaya* and *tattva*

⁶ The word *anuditthinay* is paraphrased by *sāsatitthinay*

But quickened by fond hopes and memories ¹
 By this transfixed I stagger to and fro,
 And quiver as a leaf blown by the wind. (754)
 'Tis from within me that hath sprung the
 dart,²

Whence swiftly is consumed this self of me,³
 Even this body with its sixfold field
 Of contact, where it doth proceed alway. (755)
 I see him not, that surgeon skilled, who can
 Extract the dart and purge me of my doubts
 By subtle probe, and not by other knife ⁴ (756)
 Can any one, without or knife or wound,
 Leaving the members of me all unscathed,
 Draw out this shaft that's stuck within my
 heart ⁵ (757)

He who is master of the truth and best,
 Who can the venom's fever-scarfe disperse,
 Who, were I fallen in the deep, could show
 A hand and ⁶ point where shallows sloped to
 land (758)

Yea, in a pool it is that I am plunged,
 A pit of dust and mire undrainable,
 Extended wide with treacherous counterfeit,
 Envy and overstrain,⁷ torpor and sloth. (759)

¹ The Commentary reads *sanlappa paratejślay . . . micchivīṭak*
kēna parajāne . . . ussīhitay. The other reading, *sanlappasara-*
tejślay, seems more intelligible and less forced in construction. There
 is an approximate precedent in *sarasanlappī* (*Majjh. Nik.*, I. 453,
Samy. Nik., iv. 76). Lit., the 'not putting off' is 'quickened'.

² Stress is laid in the Commentary on the wound being self-inflicted,
 much in the style of Christ's words, '. . . these things which .
 come forth from the heart; . . . they defile the man' (*Matt.* xv. 20).

³ *Māmakay* = *mama santalay attabhāṭay*

⁴ 'Doubts,' as 'the dart,' are here said to typify the entire group
 of *kilesas* (lit., torments, cankers; cf. *Und. Psy.*, 327, n.). The probe,
nānīraṇṇa, is paraphrased by *saṇṇī sakāṭī*. *Ahiṇṇay* = *abhiññento*

⁵ The Commentary reads *jīṇiṇ ca*

⁶ *Sīrambhā* (cf. verse 752) is explained by *karaṇakuttiriyī lakkaṇa*

Thunder of thought distracted overhead,
And fettering wraths of cloud about my path —
The rush of lust-borne impulse and intent
Doth thither sweep me—to a sceptic's doom¹ (760)
And every where the streams are flowing by,
And ever burgeoning the creeper stands—
Those streams whose strength avails to stop?
That creeper who can sever from its root?² (761)

Make thee a dyke, good sir, to dam the streams,
See that the mind's strong current ruthlessly
Dash thee not hence like my log away! (762)
'Twas even so for me who sought in fear,
On this side for the distant shore, when He,
The Master, followed by his saintly throng, (763)
He the true Refuge, and with insight armed,
Held out to me a stairway, strongly wrought,
And firm, made of the Norm's pure heart
oak,³

And to me toiling spake 'Be not afraid' (764)
I climbed up to the terrace where the mind
Alert and vigilant applies itself,⁴
Thence I could contemplate the sons of men
Delighting in that sense of 'I' and 'mine,'⁵
Wherein I once was wont to nurse conceits (765)
And when I saw the Way, even the ship
On which to embark, and dwell no more on Self,
Twas then that I beheld Nibbana's shore⁶ (766)

¹ The Commentary interprets *shī tākanti* as 'a rush of great waters bearing me to the doom ocean' Cf *Jit*, v 393 f, *Dhp*, ver 333 f

² These are standard similes for 'craving' (*taṭṭhā*) Cf verse 1034

³ *Karotha* is 'make ye,' but one meets with this inflexion in the singular sense, such as the context demands.

⁴ *Lat*, 'make of the pit of the Norm'

⁵ *Sitipatthāna* *paṭi* *tan*

⁶ *Sakkāya* paraphrased as *ahay mamata*

⁷ *Titthā* *uttan* *ay*—lit., best or supreme shore—paraphrased by 'the landing place of the ambrosial great beyond called Nibbāna.'

The dart that sprang from self, offshoot of her
 Who to becoming lends¹—to stop all that
 The perfect Path [the Ariyan] he taught. (767)
 The knotted bonds long buried in my life,
 Fixed up about me for so many years,
 The Buddha loosed and cast them off from me,
 And every poison canker purged away. (768)

CCII

Ratṭhapāla.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Kurus, in the township of Thullakoṭṭhika, as the son of a councillor named Ratṭhapāla,² and was called by his family name. Brought up in a large establishment of retainers, he was united, when adolescent, to a suitable wife, and enjoyed a prosperity resembling that of the devas. Now the Exalted One, touring in the Kuru country, came to Thullakoṭṭhika, and Ratṭhapāla went to hear him teach. Receiving faith, he with great difficulty obtained his parents' leave to renounce the world. Going to the Master, he received ordination from a bhikkhu at the Master's command, and studying diligently developed insight and won arābantship. Thereupon he obtained permission to visit his parents, and went to Thullakoṭṭhika, going from house to house for alms. At his father's house he obtained rancid gruel, but ate it as if it were ambrosia. Invited by his father, he went next day to his home. And

¹ *Tanḥā*. See p 292, n. 1. *Pabbāṭitay=saṃutthitay* (Commentary)

² Because he was wealthy enough to prop up a bankrupt kingdom (Commentary). This legend is more fully told in *Maykhima*, vol. II. No 82. It reappears also in the *Vinaya Texts* and the *Jātaka* (vol I, No. 14). See hereon Mr. W. Lupton's discussion, prefacing his edition and translation of the 'Ratṭhapāla Sutta,' *JRAS*, 1891, p 769 ff. I have largely profited by Mr Lupton's translation of the verses. Dhammapāla's brief résumé is given in full

when the ladies in fine array asked him 'What are the celestial nymphs like my lord for whose sake you live the holy life? he taught them the Norm in connection with impermanence, etc., repulsing their insinuating conduct

Behold the tricked-out puppet shape, n maa
 Of sores, n congeries diseased, and full
 Of many purposes and plans, and yet
 In whom there is no power to persist ¹¹ (769)
 Behold the tricked-out form, bejewelled, ringed
 Sheathed in bones and skinny envelope,
 By help of gear made fine and fair to see' (770)
 Feet dyed with lac, with rouge the lips besmeared
 All good enough for dull wit of a fool
 But not for him who seeketh the Beyond' (771) *
 The locks in eightfold plait, eyes fringed with black
 All good enough for dull wit of a fool
 But not for him who seeketh the Beyond' (772)
 Lakon collyrium pot' brand new, embowed
 The body foul within is bravely decked
 All good enough for dull wit of a fool,
 But not for him who seeketh the Beyond (773)
 Tho' trapper set his snare The deer came not
 Against the net' We've eaten of the bait—
 Let's go' the while deer trapper made lament —

his seven doors, and had sent men to prevent him from getting out, and to take off his yellow robes and clothe him in white¹ Hence the Thera's going through the air Then the king, hearing where he was seated, went to him, and with courteous greeting asked him thus 'Master Ratthapala, in this world men renounce it for some kind of misfortune—illness, loss of king, wealth or family But you who have suffered no such thing, why have you left the world? Then the Thera replied 'The world passes away, is transient, the world is without refuge or providence, the world has no stronghold, the world is wanting and destitute, dissatisfied, the slave of craving.' Thus showing his separate condition, he recited a parallel in verse

Men² of much wealth I see in the world —
 Riches acquiring they err in not giving
 Make out of greed a great hoard of their wealth
 Yea, hankering yet after ever more pleasures (776)
 The king having forcibly conquered the earth,
 To the shore of the ocean holding the land
 This side of the sea, may yet all unsatisfied
 Hanker after the further side also (777)
 See where both king and full many another man
 Nursing their cravings come to their dying
 Paupers becoming,³ they put off this body,
 For never content lies in pleasures of this
 world (778)
 Kinsfolk bewail him with tresses dishevelled,
 Crying 'Alas' would our kin were immortal⁴
 Him in his shroud envelopt they bear away,
 Raising a pyre they forthwith cremate him (779)

¹ The layman's colour

² The metre till verse 789 is in the Tristubh (Vedic) metre of the 5+5 feet variety

³ *I.e.* in their wishes (Commentary)

⁴ Paraphrased by *alo vata* (lengthened *netra* caus 'g' ū) *sukl' itay*) *am' itay* : *is amarī s jan* (1 *ayun*) *te*

He lies n burning by forks being prodded
 Clad in one garment stripped of all riches
 Never to one who is dying are kinsfolk
 Refuge nor friends nay nor even neighbours (780)
 His wealth is annexed by his heirs but the being¹
 Goeth according to all his past actions
 Never doth wealth follow after the dying
 Nor children nor wife nor wealth nor a king
 dom (781)

Never is long life gotten through riches
 Nor is old age ever banished by property
 Brief is this life all the sages have told us
 Transient it is and essentially changing (782)
 All feel the Touch² both the poor and the wealthy
 Touched is the wise man no less than the fool
 But the fool smitten down by his folly lies prostrate

The wise man when feeling the Touch never
 trembles (783)

Wherefore far better than riches is wisdom
 Whereby we arrive even here at the terminus
 For from not reaching the goal³ the dull minded
 Work wicked deeds in delusion reborn
 In spheres whether high or whether of no account⁴ (784)

Cometh n man to the womb and in other worlds
 Findeth rebirth being caught in Samsara
 Round sempiternal of livings consecutive
 Him one of little wit follows believing
 Cometh to birth both here and in other worlds (785)
 Even as a thief who is taken in burglary
 By his own act is condemned as a criminal⁵

Satto ² Paraphrased by an *Uplāṣṣa* p p nant

³ *Anādh gataṃ ātma* (Commentary)

⁴ *Bhava bhavesu*. This curious term is so paraphrased *nahantā
 alantesu bhavesu*

⁵ Quoted literally sruṇed (*kaḥal*) as being of evil nature

And Mālunkyā's son, showing how well he had learnt that doctrine so summarized, expressed it in these verses :

Sight of fair shape bewildering lucid thought,¹
 If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
 The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow, (794)
 And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
 Divers emotions rooted in the sight,
 Greed and aversion,² and the heart of him
 Doth suffer grievously. Of him we say,
 Thus heaping store of pain and suffering:
 Far from Nibbāna! (795)

Sound,³ smell, taste, touch, bewildering lucid
 thought,
 If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
 The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow, (796)
 And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
 Divers emotions rooted in the sense,
 Greed and aversion; and the heart of him
 Doth suffer grievously. Of him we say,
 Thus heaping store of pain and suffering :
 Far from Nibbana ! (797-803)

Object, idea,⁴ bewildering lucid thought,
 If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
 The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow,
 And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow (804)

¹ See verse 98 and n. 'Lucid thought' is better for *sati* than 'self-control,' to which *sati* conduces

² *Vikheṇ*, aroused, says the Commentary, when the object is the reverse of agreeable. More probably the enmity born of greed. Cf. *Dialogues*, ii 55.

³ Each sense is given a separate stanza

⁴ *Dhammay Nāṭṭā*—i.e., the aspect of cognition as an act of mind, supplementing, or, it may be, independent of, sense impressions

Divers emotions rooted in idea,
 Greed and aversion, and the heart of him
 Doth suffer grievously Of him we say,—
 Thus heaping store of pain and suffering —
 Far from Nibbāna' (805)

He who for things he sees no passion breeds,
 But mindful clear of head can suffer sense
 With uninfamed heart, nor staying clings, (806)
 And as he sees so normally he feels,¹
 For him no heaping up but minishing
 Thus doth he heedfully pursue his way
 Of him building no store of ill, we say —
 Near is Nibbāna' (807)

He who for things he hears or smells or tastes
 Or for things touched and felt no passion breeds
 But mindful clear of head, can suffer sense
 With uninfamed heart, nor staying clings, (808)
 And as he hears or smells, or tastes, is touched
 Or doth perceive, so normally he feels,
 For him no heaping up, but minishing
 Thus doth he heedfully pursue his way
 Of him, building no store of ill, we say —
 Near to Nibbāna' (809-817)²

Then the Thera rose saluted the Master and departed,
 not long after so developing insight that he won arahant
 ship

¹ The rest of consciousness follows its *gocara* or normal procedure (Commentary)

² As before each sense is assigned a complete stanza. The Buddha, according to the *Samyutta Nikāya* accords warm praise to Uḍḍakappa's rendering

CCLIII

Sela ¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age, in Angutrarāpa,² in a brahmin family, at the brahmin village of Āpana, he was named Sela. And he dwelt there when adult, proficient in the three Vedas and in brahmin arts, teaching mantras to 300 brahmin youths. Now at that time the Master, leaving Sāvattihī, toured in Angutrarāpa with 1,250 bhikkhus. And divining the maturity of insight in Sela and his pupils, he halted at a certain wood. Then Keniya, the ascetic, having invited the Master and his band for the following day, made preparation of much food. And Sela with his 300 visited the hermitage and asked: 'What now, Keniya, is a minister of the King expected?' and so on. Keniya replied: 'I have invited the Buddha, the Exalted One for to-morrow.' Now Sela, thrilled with joyful enthusiasm at the word 'Buddha,' sought out the Master straightway with his youths, and after exchange of courtesies seated himself at one side. Contemplating the Exalted One, he thought: 'He has all the marks of one who is either a world-emperor, or a Buddha rolling back the veil of the world, yet I know not whether this religious Brother be a Buddha or not. But I have heard that they who are Exalted Ones, Arhants, Buddhas supreme, reveal themselves when their praises are uttered; for one who is not such a Buddha, when some one in his presence praises the virtues of a Buddha, is irritated and dissatisfied, because he has not won the

¹ Both story and poem form the greater part of the 'Sela Sutta' in the *Sutta Nipata* and in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (a 146). Dhammapadī is strangely silent over these older versions. His own version is briefer and, except for the more evolved myth alluded to below (p 314, n 2), more simple. His use of *ādi*, 'and so on,' seems, however, to hint at a more standard account as known to him.

² In the *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary* this is the country about the River Mahā, north of the Ganges. Āpana means 'bazaar,' 'market'

serene confidence of Buddhas,¹ and cannot endure the allusions² What if I were now to praise the Samana Gotama to his face with suitable verses? So he began:

O thou of perfect form and beauty rare,
Of fairest parts³ and lovely to behold,
Exalted One! thy colour like fine gold,
Thou valiant spirit, with the dazzling teeth, (818)
Whose body shows the features that betray
The man of perfectly adjusted parts,
Yea, all the traits that mark the Super-Man; (819)
Thou with the eyes so clear, thy countenance
So fair, broad,⁴ straight, majestic, thou dost shine
As doth the sun, the centre thou of all
The chosen band of brethren gathered round: (820)
Thou bhikkhu noble of aspect, whose skin
Resembleth gold, say, what is friar's life
To thee with presence so supremely fair? (821)
A Prince thou dost deserve to be, a Bull
Drawing the chariot of the world's empire;
Lord of the earth from end to end foursquare,
A conqueror, of Jambudipa chief. (822)
Nobles and wealthy lords thy vassals be,
Thou sovran lord of lords, thou king of men,
Take thou thy power, O GOTAMA, and reign! (823)

Then the Exalted One, fulfilling Sela's wish, replied:

'A king, O Sela, verily am I;
King of the Norm, above me there is none.

¹ This is based on the conviction that they have the genuine intellectual and moral qualities required in a Buddha, and that what they teach is true and its results certain (*Jug Nik*, ii 8)

² These negative clauses are not in the *Sutta-Nipata* narrative

³ In the Commentary *supita* is 'perfect in presence,' as to height and breadth. On these proportions, see *Dialogues*, ii 14-16

⁴ *Brah*, the Commentary reads *brahma*, excellent - i.e., in proportions

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¹ This is based on the conviction that they have the genuine intellectual and moral qualities required in a Buddha, and that what they teach is true and its results certain (*Ang Nik.* ii 8)

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³ In the Commentary *supato* is 'perfect in presence,' as to height and breadth On these proportions, see *Dialogues*, ii 14 16

⁴ *Brahma*, the Commentary reads *brahma*, excellent — i.e., in proportions

And by my doctrine¹ do I turn the wheel
Of sovereignty, wheel irreversible.' (824)

Then Sela to win confirmation spoke again :²

Wholly enlightened thou dost own thyself :
'King of the Norm, above me there is none
And by my doctrine do I turn the wheel
Of sovereignty'—so sayst thou, GOTAMA. (825)
Who is the general of my lord the King,
Disciple following in the Master's steps?
Who after his example turns the wheel? (826)

Now the venerable Sāriputta was seated at the right of the Exalted One, his head shining in beauty like a pile of gold. And showing him the Exalted One said :

'The wheel I set a-going of the Norm,
Above which, Sela, there is none, that wheel
Doth Sāriputta after my example³ turn,
Who hath become like Him-who-Thus-bath-
Come. (827)

All that which should be known is known by
me,
All culture of the mind, that have I wrought,
Whate'er should be renounced I have renounced,
Hence, brahmin ! am I Buddha—one Awake. (828)

¹ *Pariyatti dhammo*, the Norm in its literary form, or formulated doctrines (Commentary)

² I omit from the text the glosses 'thus Sela said,' etc., which hamper the Pali metre

³ *Ang Nik*, i 23 *Anu*, in *anuvatteti*, *anugāto*, is intended to express conformity, likeness, and not so much succession in time. Of the latter term in *Iti vuttaka* (trans *Sayings of Buddha*), § 74, where it is applied to children whose lives resemble those of their parents. In becoming an Ariya, says the Commentary, Sāriputta became of like birth or caste (*jāti*) with the Tathāgata. Sāriputta did not live to succeed the Master as leader.

Subdue thy doubts regarding me, brahmin!
 Have faith in me Hard, hard it is to win
 Repeated seeing—[as thou mayest now]—
 Of them who rise on earth Buddhas Supreme (829)
 And 'tis of such whose advent in the world
 Is difficult and rare, that I in sooth
 Am one, O brahmin! yea, a Buddha I,
 Surgeon and Healer,¹ over whom there's none (830)
 Supreme my place and past compare my work,
 In crushing the assaults of Māra's hosts
 All that is hostile lieth 'neath my sway,
 And I rejoice for no whence cometh fear' (831)

Then Sela the brahmin, so convinced by the Exalted
 One as to wish to take orders, said :

'Now pay good heed sirs, to the words that He
 Who sees, Healer and Hero, speaks to us,
 Impressive as a forest lion's roar. (832)
 Supreme in place and past compare in work,
 Who crusheth the assaults of Māra's hosts.— (833)
 Who that hath seen him would not feel con-
 vinced,
 And were he never so obscure of birth²
 He who is fain for me may follow me;
 And whoso is not fain may go his way,
 But I will in this Rule renounce the world,
 'Neath him who is so noble and so wise' (834)

Then the brahmin youths also, because they had attained
 to the requisite conditions, replied :

'If to thy judgment, sir, this Rule of him,
 The Supreme Buddha, doth commend itself,
 We too will in that Rule renounce the world,
 'Neath him who 'is so noble and so wise.' (835)

¹ *I e.*, of greed, hate and illusion (Commentary)

² *Lat.*, 'one of dark descent,' paraphrased as *nīcagato*

Then Sela, delighted because those youths shared in his resolve showed them to the Master and asked for ordination

These thrice one hundred brahmins with clasped hands

Besteech thee, O Exalted One, that we

May lead the holy life beneath thine eye (836)

Then the Exalted One, inasmuch as in past ages Sela as teacher of just those 300¹, had sown the root of merit and now in the last life had produced both his own insight and their maturity, discerned that they were ripe for ordination and said

'Well, Sela is the holy life set forth

Clean to be seen and heard, swift is the fruit,¹

Wherein not futile is the coming forth

For one who earnestly doth train himself (837)

Thereupon the Exalted One said 'COME YE BHIKKHUS' And they, by his mystic power endued with the robes and bowl of bhikkhus of long standing² did obeisance and began their studies for insight, attaining arahantship on the seventh day Thereat they came to the Master and confessed añña thus, Sela speaking

Lo! thou who seest all tis eight days since

We came and refuge found In one seannight

Exalted One' were trained in thy Rule (838)

Thou art Buddha' our Master thou' and thou

The mighty Seer who Māra didst overthrow

Thou who all evil tendencies hast purged

And crossed [the flood of life's eternal sea]

To thoua lost and the sons of men to save (839)

¹ *Paccakkho* is the paraphrase of *saddhita ataliko*—lit. not to be lost—is explained as where fruition is to be won immediately after [each] path without interval of time The *Sutta Nipata C m* 1 c *farj* explains in practically identical terms

² This legendary feature is not in the *Sutta Nipata* story

Thou hast transcended every cause of birth,
 And shattered every poison growth within,
 Thou even as a lion, grasping nought,
 Hast banished every source of fear and dread (840)
 Three hundred bhikkhus lo' before thee stand
 With clasped hands outstretched to honour thee,
 Stretch forth thy feet, O hero' suffer them,
 Thine arahants,¹ their Master to salute (841)

CCLIV

Bhaddiya, son of Kahi of the Godhas

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavattu in the clan of Sakyan rajas² he was named Bhaddiya. And when adult, he left the world together with Anuruddha and the other four nobles, while the Master was staying at the Mango Grove of Anupiya. And entering the Order, he won arahantship. Him (as the result of a primeval vow and efforts on his part), the Master in conclave at Jeta Grove ranked as the best among those bhikkhus who were of aristocratic birth³. And he dwelling in the bliss of fruition, in the bliss of Nibbāna, while in the forest, beneath a tree, in any lonely spot was ever breathing forth the exclamation 'Ah, what happiness' ah, what happiness! Now bhikkhus hearing him told the Master, to whom Bhaddiya when summoned, admitted the habit adding 'Formerly, lord,

¹ Nāgas. On this term see Udāṇa pāṭi (CCXLV II)

² I have not met elsewhere with the Godhas but Kahi is recorded in Saṃj v 996, as having been honoured by a visit from the Master at Kapilavattu and commended for her confession of faith as a believer in the First Path (*soṭṭapatti*). She is spoken of as Kāḥgodhā the Sīkhyā and addressed as 'Godhā'. It is not clear as to what was the political relation between raja Bhaddiya and Suddhodana who in the *D gā Nāka* is also termed simply rāja not mahārāja, as once in this Commentary. Cf Rhys Davids *Buddhist India* p 19 ff. Bhaddiya's story occurs in *Uḷlāna* n 10.

³ *Ang Nāka* i 23. Such had greater difficulties to overcome. Cf *Suteras* verse 517. *Majjh Nāka* iii 129 f.

when I was ruling my principality, I was well provided with protection, yet even so I was ever fearful, nervous, distrustful. But now that I have renounced all, I am no longer in that state.' And before the Master he uttered his 'lion's roar,' thus :

What delicate gear was mine to wear,
 When riding on my elephants,
 What dainty fare was mine to eat,
 Prepared by art from rice and flesh?¹ (842)
 To day a happy winner,² stanch,
 Pleased with what scraps his bowl is filled,
 In contemplation, grasping nought,
 Lives Bhaddiya, the Godhā's son. (843)
 In cast-off rags attired, and stanch,
 Pleased with what scraps his bowl is filled,
 In contemplation, grasping nought,
 Lives Bhaddiya, the Godhā's son. (844)
 Seeking his daily alms and stanch,
 Pleased with what scraps, etc.³ (845)

In triple robe, no more, and stanch,
 Pleased, etc. (846)
 Taking each house in turn, and stanch,
 Pleased, etc. (847)
 With one good meal a day,⁴ and stanch,
 Pleased, etc. (848)
 Eating from bowl alone and stanch,
 Pleased, etc. (849)
 Refusing aftermeals and stanch,
 Pleased, etc. (850)
 Haunting the lonely woods and stanch,
 Pleased, etc. (851)

¹ The things specified are types of a life in all these respects luxurious (Commentary)

² There is here a word play on *bhadda-Bhaddiya*.

³ In every gāthā the three lines of refrain are to be understood

⁴ *Ekāśana* one 'sit down meal' only in the day

Sheltered by shade of tree¹ and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (852)

'Neath open sky, unsheltered, stanch,
Pleased, etc. (853)

Haunting the charnel-fields and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (854)

Seated no matter where and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (855)

Resting in sitting posture,² stanch,
Pleased, etc. (856)

Simple and few his wants and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (857)

With mind content, serene, and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (858)

Secluded, much alone and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (859)

Detached, aloof [from men] and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (860)

With surging energy³ and stanch,
Pleased with what scraps his bowl is filled,
In contemplation, grasping nought,
Lives Bhaddiya, the Godhā's son (861)

Renouncing costly vessels wrought
In gold and lac, this earthen bowl
I grasped, and thus the second time
Anointment's consecration won.⁴ (862)
Guarded by lofty circling walls,
And mighty gates with watchtowers high
And men-at-arms with sword in hand,
So was I wont in dread to dwell (863)

¹ *I.e.*, instead of by a roof

² Verses 854-856 enumerate twelve of the *thartoca Dhutāngas*,^{*} or extra austerities, optional to bhikkhus. Enumerated in *Milinda*, ii 268 Cf *Mayh Nik*, 77th Sutta

³ Verses 857-861 refer to practices incumbent on all bhikkhus without option.

⁴ Verse 97, spoken also by an ex prince

To-day a happy winner, see,
 At ease, all fear and fright removed,
 In forest meditation plunged
 Dwells Bhaddiya the Godhā's son. (864)
 Firm planted on the moral code,
 In clarity¹ and insight trained,
 In due succession have I won²
 Release with every fetter gone! (865)

CCLV

Angulimāla.

He was reborn in this Buddha-Age as the son of the brahmīn, Bhaggava,³ who was chaplain to the King of Kosala. On the night of his birth all the armour in the town shone.⁴ The King's state armour too, so that he, seeing it as he lay in bed, could get no sleep, but was nervous and alarmed. The chaplain that night consulted the stars and concluded that his son was born in the conjunction of the thieves' constellation.⁵ At dawn he waited on the king and asked if he had slept well. 'How could I have slept well, teacher?' replied the King, 'my armour was lit up all night. Now what can that presage?'

¹ *Sati*, which is intelligent awareness. Cf. verse 794, n.

² On this 'succession,' see Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, pp. 141-150.

³ Not identifiable with the Bhaggava, at whose hermitage the Prince Siddhattha first studied after his renunciation. See *Sisters*, p. 2.

⁴ I have given this quaint legend—invented to explain a nickname—in full, as affording a means of comparing the scholastic journalism of Buddhaghosa (Commentary on *Nāgajñāna Nīkaya*, 'Sutta 86') and of Dhammapāla. The two narratives differ in details, and are probably mutually independent and approximately contemporaneous. The story was a popular one; it occurs in the *Atadāna-Sāṭaka* (No. 27), and is referred to (*Milinda*, n. 355). *Dhammapada*, verses 173, 422, refer to it, but the Commentary and that on *Jātaka V*, No. 537, both refer to Buddhaghosa's account. Was the babe brother to Janta, CCXVIII?

⁵ On this 'brahmīn art,' cf. *Dialogues*, i. 15 f., 20 f. I do not know which star or stars are meant.

'Fear not, your majesty, in my house a child is born Through his influence the armour in the whole town was lit up' 'What then will he become, teacher?' 'The child will become a thief?' 'Single handed, or leader of a gang?' 'Single handed, sire' 'Had we not better kill him?' 'If single handed, he can be held in check'

Now because he was born vexing the King's mind he was named *Illyasa*. But afterwards when what was seen was seen no more, he became known as *Ahlyasa*.¹ Through former karma he had the strength of seven elephants. And while he studied under the first teacher at *Takkasilā*, he respectfully waited on the latter and his wife, so that he was frequently with them at meals and so forth. But the other brahmin youths could not endure him² and at length brought about discord between him and the brahmin teacher, persuading the latter against him. Because of his pupil's great strength, the brahmin devised a stratagem for his ruin and said 'Ahlyasa, you have now finished as my pupil give me my honorarium' 'Very good, teacher, how will you have it?' 'Bring me a thousand human right hand fingers' For he expected that Ahlyasa would for shame bring one only, and could then be punished. Thereat Ahlyasa's long heaped up ruthlessness came to the front, and girding on armour, he went to the *Jalini* forest,³ in *Kesala* and from a cliff near the high road watched the passers by, and rushing down smote off their fingers and hung them on a tree till the vultures and crows had stripped the bones of flesh. Then making a garland of the fingerbones, he hung it round his shoulders as if decked for sacrifice. From that time he was called *Fingerwreathed* (*Angulimala*). And when through his deeds the road became *tabu*, he entered the villages, and these became deserted. Then the King proclaimed 'I et

¹ Our nearest equivalents are *Noceus* and *Innocens*, the latter once a favourite Christian name. Dr. Neumann's *Wagnerian* *Friedreich* etc. is wiser of the mark. According to *Pap. S. d.*, he was named *Allyasa* or *Ahlyasa*, from the first.

² In the *U. pphā* a *Nāyaka* Ceti *centary* they were *aliens* (*bahira*) a)

³ So are we!

a strong force come that we may quickly take the bandit' And Angulimala's mother, of the Mantani brahmins,¹ said to her husband 'Our son is a thief and committing this and that Send for him, bid him to stop doing these things' But he replied 'I have nought to do with sons of that sort, let the King do as he will' Then she in love, took provisions and set out, saying 'I will bring my son and stop him

The Exalted One thought 'If she comes to him, Angulimala will kill her to make up his thousand fingers This is his last birth If I do not go there might be great loss I will speak to him' So after his meal he travelled the thirty leagues along the road, and warning off cow herde and the like, approached the Jālini Wood Now Angulimala had just seen his mother, and was reckoning on her finger to make up his number, when the Exalted One showed himself between them Then said the son 'Why should I kill my mother for a finger? Let my mother live! Let me rather go for that recluse's finger And drawing his sword he stalked the Exalted One Then the Exalted One exerted such magic power that, even though he was walking at his usual pace, Angulimala could not, even running, overtake him, but panting, pouring sweat, unable to lift his feet, stood like a stake and cried 'Stop, friar! The Exalted One said 'Tho' I walk, yet have I stopped and do you, Angulimala, stop! Then the thief thought 'They speak the truth, these Sakyan friars, yet he says he has stopped, whereas it is I who have stopped What can he mean? So he asked

Thou who art walking friar, dost say 'Lo' I have stopped'

And me thou tellest, who have stopped I have not stopped'

I ask thee friar, what is the meaning of thy words?² How sayest thou that thou hast stopped, but I have not? (SGG)

Then the Exalted One replied

Yea I have stopped Angulimāla, evermore
Towards all living things renouncing violence,
Thou holdest not thy hand against thy fellow men
Therefore tis I have stopped, but thou still goest
on (867)

Thereat Angulimāla as the Exalted One stood there
revealing his true virtue remembered what he had heard
rumoured about him and his insight reaching maturity,
rapture pervaded his being, like a sheet of water spreading
over the whole earth And saying to himself, 'Great is
this lion's roar This can be none other, methinks than
the Samana Gotama to help me the Exalted One is come
hither' he said —

O long is it since mighty sage by me revered,
A friar, to this forest great hath found his way!
Lo! I will readily forego a thousand crimes
Hearing the righteous doctrine in this verse of
thine (868)

And so¹ the bandit doffed² his armour and his sword
And threw them down a cliff, into a pit, a chasm
Before the Welcome One low worshipping, the thief
Straightway besought the Buddha's leave to be
enrolled (869)

Thereat the Buddha mighty Sage most pitiful
Master of all the world and oke of all the gods
Spake then these words to him, saying 'Yea COME,
BHĪKKHU!

And e'en thereby to him was bhikkhu status
given (870)

¹ According to the Commentaries, the bandit speaks these words
then and there At verse 871 begins Angulimāla's song of triumph
as arahant

² *Avakāsi* (*Paṭi* *Siddhamāsi*) paraphrased as *lāpā chaddesi*

He who in former days a wastrel living,
 In later day no more so spends his time,
 He goeth o'er the world a radiance shedding,
 As when the moon comes free in clouded sky (871)
 To whomsoever the ill deeds he hath wrought,
 By a good life are closed up and sealed,¹
 He goeth o'er the world a radiance shedding
 As when the moon comes free in clouded sky (872)
 Surely a brother who in youth doth give
 Himself to live within the Buddha's Rule,
 He goeth o'er the world a radiance shedding
 As when the moon comes free in cloudy sky (873)

Thus abiding in the joy and ease of emancipation he went into the town for alms. And men threw, here a clod, and there a stick at him, hitting him on the head, so that he came back to the Vihara with broken bowl² and sought the Master. The latter admonished him saying 'Suffer it, brahmin, you have to suffer it. The result of your actions for which you might have been roasted for centuries in purgatory, you are feeling now in this life. Then the Thera, summoning up a heart of love for all beings without distinction,³ said

O let my foes but hear the Norm as told to me,
 And hearing join with me to keep the Buddha's Rule!
 O let my foes but minister to men of peace
 Who e'en have taken to their hearts that holy
 Norm! (874)
 O let my foes from time to time but hear that Norm
 From them who tell of gentleness, and who commend
 Affection, and to what they hear, their actions
 suit! (875)

¹ *Paṭhajaṭṭha* the Commentary connects with the clanging of a door

² The *Maṅgala Nikāya* gives a more coloured picture. With broken head and flowing blood cut and crushed. In the *Dhamma pada Commentary*, III, 169 he is represented as dying after uttering these verses

³ Cf I pp 45 n 1

For such a foe would verily not work me harm,
 Nor any other creature wheresoever found.
 He would himself attain the peace inffable,
 And thus attaining cherish all both bad and
 good.¹ (876)

The² conduit-makers lead the stream,
 Fletchers coerce the arrow shaft,
 The joiners mould the wooden plank,
 The self 'tis that the pious tame. (877)
 Some creatures are subdued by force,
 Some by the hook, and some by whips;
 But I by such an Ono was tamed
 Who needed noither staff nor sword (878)

Innocens ! such the namo I bear,³
 While Noxious in the past was I;
 To-day most truly am I named,
 For now I hurt not any man. (879)

¹ *Tasa-thūvare* in Childers 'feeble strong,' but admittedly a term of doubtful meaning. Dhammapala has 'all beings.' Buddhaghosa says *Tasā* are called *satanhā*, *thuvārā*, *nittanhā* (having craving and the opposites)

Dr Neumann, who in these three gāthās takes *disā* to mean, not 'foes,' as do both Commentaries, but the quarters of the firmament (*disā*, *disāyo*), lets himself go in an invocation to *die Luste*, entirely in the style and words of the German Romantic poets of the last century. The result is loveher as poetry, if not after Thera precedent, as observed by the Commentators he derides. The Thera's regret is that the men, 'relatives of his many victims,' do not know how changed he is, nor the virtues of that which has changed him.

² See XIX. The metre in (878) reverts to the śloka. The Thera, having uttered the foregoing for his own protection (Buddhaghosa), and to deliver others from evil (Dhammapala), now declares his own accomplished work.

³ 'I hear' accords better with our Commentary, which gives *Higsākkā* as the Thera's original name, and *Ahigāka* as that given him on his conversion. Buddhaghosa's version is perhaps more plausible. Cf p 319, n. 1. It must, too, be remembered that his record was spotless till he tried to pay his college fee.

Once an obnoxious bandit I,
 Known by my name of Finger-wreathed,
 Till toiling mid the awful flood,
 I refuge in the Buddha found. (880)
 Once were my hands imbrued with blood;
 Known was my name as Finger-wreathed.
 O see the Refuge I have found,
 With every craving¹ rooted out! (881)
 Mo who had wrought such direful deeds,
 Fast going to my place of doom,
 Me all that doing's aftermath
 Hath touched o'en here—and freed from debt
 Now take I my allotted share² (882)

'Tis a fool's part heedless to waste his life:—
 Such are the folk who will not understand
 He who is wise doth foster earnestness
 As he were watching o'er his chiefest wealth. (883)
 Give not yourselves to wastage in your lives,
 Nor be familiar with delights of sense.
 He who doth strenuously meditate,
 His shall it be to win the bliss supreme. (884)

O welcome³ this that came nor came amiss!
 O goodly was the counsel given to me!
 'Mong divers doctrines mooted among men,
 Of all 'twas sure the Best I sought and found. (885)
 O welcome this that came nor came amiss!
 O goodly was the counsel given to me!
 The threefold wisdom have I made mine own,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (886)

Deep in the wild beneath some forest tree,
 Or in the mountain cave, is't here, is't there,
 So have I stood and let my throbbin' heart (887)

¹ *Bhavanettis*, 'guide to rebirth' = *tanhā*. See verse 604, n. 1.

² See verse 789.

³ Pāṇḍa-Vaccha's verse (IX.).

Transported beat Happy I seek my rest
 Happy I rise happy I pass the day,
 Escaped from snare of evil—ah! behold
 The Master's sweet compassion shown to me! (888)

A child born of good brahmin stock was I,
 Of pure and high descent this side and that.
 This day the Welcome One doth call me son!
 The Master yea the Sovereign of the Norm (889)
 Gono is all craving nowhere have I hold
 Guarded the gates and well controlled the sense
 Of this world's misery spewing forth the root
 From every poison taint nam I immune? (890)

The Master hath my fealty and love
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more? (891)

CCLVI

Anuruddha

Reborn in this Buddha age at Kapilavatthu in the house of Amitodana the Sakyan he was named Anuruddha.¹ Thus his elder brother was Mahanama the Sakyan the son of the Master's paternal uncle. And he was reared most delicately and luxuriously in a different house for each of the seasons.

¹ The *Dīpa-ṇipāḍa Commentary* relates (u. 170) that when Angulimāla passed away and the Master heard of it he said: 'My son bhikkhus has reached Parinibbāna. Lord has he so reached who did kill so many people? Yea he did evil when he had not one virtuous friend but when he found one he strove earnestly wherefore his evil doing is closed up by good.'

² Cf. CXXI

³ = verses 604-792.

⁴ Both text and legend give one of his names in a previous birth, in Kassapa Buddha's time (verse 910). The Br. manuscript mispells the father's name (correctly given in the *Anguttara Nikāya Commentary*) as Amitodhana. See further *Isaya Texts* II. 274 ff. On the dancers etc. (naḍḍi), see *ibid.* III. 25 n. 1.

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 Till toiling mid the awful flood,
 I refuge in the Buddha found. (880)
 Once were my hands imbrued with blood;
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 O see the Refuge I have found,
 With every craving¹ rooted out! (881)
 Me who had wrought such direful deeds,
 First going to my place of doom,
 Me all that doings aftermornth
 Hath touched e'en here--and freed from debt
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 The threefold wisdom have I made mine own,
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 Or in the mountain cave, is't here, is't there,
 So have I stood and let my throbbin' heart (887)

¹ *Bhavanetti*, 'guide to rebirth' = *taṅhā*. See verse 604, n. 1.

² See verse 789.

³ *Palinda-Vaccha's* verse (IX.).

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 Happy I rise, happy I pass the day,
 Escaped from snare of evil—nh! behold
 'The Master's sweet compassion shown to me! (888)

A child born of good brahmin stock was I;
 Of pure and high descent this side and that.
 This day the Welcome One doth call me son,¹
 The Master, yea, the Sovereign of the Norm. (889)
 Gone is all craving, nowhere have I hold,
 Guarded the gates, and well controlled the sense.
 Of this world's misery spewing forth the root,
 From every poison-taint nūn I immune.² (890)

The Master hath my fealty and love,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore:
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more.³ (891)

CCLVI

Anuruddha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the house of Amitodana the Sākiyan, he was named Anuruddha.⁴ Thus his elder brother was Mahānāma the Sākiyan, the son of the Master's paternal uncle. And he was reared most delicately and luxuriously, in a different house for each of the seasons,

¹ The *Dhammapada Commentary* relates (iii 170) that when Angulimāla passed away, and the Master heard of it, he said: 'My son, bhikkhus, has reached Parinibbāna.' 'Lord, has he so reached who did kill so many people?' 'Yes, he did evil when he had not one virtuous friend, but when he found one, he strove earnestly, wherefore his evil-doing is closed up by good.'

² Cf. CN. i.

³ = verses 604, 792.

⁴ Both text and legend give one of his names in a previous birth, in Kassapa Buddha's time (verse 910). The Br. manuscript misspells the father's name (correctly given in the *Anguttara Nikaya Commentary*) as Amittodhana. See further, *Pinaya Texts*, iii. 224 ff. On the dancers, etc. (*nāṭaka*), see *ibid.*, iii. 225, n. 1.

and was surrounded with dancers and mimes, enjoying a divinely good fortune. And when he was summoned with the Sākiyan rājas to form a guard for the Master, he went to him in the Mango Wood at Anupiyā, took orders, and within the period of the rains, acquired celestial vision. Again, receiving an exercise under the tuition of the General of the Norm, he went into the East Bamboo Wood, and studying, mastered seven of the thoughts of a great man, but could not learn the eighth. The Master, discerning this, taught it to him, teaching him the great course of the lineage of the Ariyans¹. Remembering this lesson, Anuruddha developed insight and realized arahantship, accompanied by supernormal and analytic powers². Him the Master ranked foremost among those who had attained the celestial eye³. And he, dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, reviewed one day his achievement. And thrilled with joy, he breathed forth this psalm:

Forsaking mother, father, all his kin,
Sister and brother, quitting joys of sense,
Sits Anuruddha rapt in reverie. (892)
By dance and song attended, by the sound
Of cymbals in the morn awaked:—not so
Were pure religion to be reached, too fain
Was I in Māra's precincts to abide (893)
And now that all those things are left behind,
Fain with full heart to keep the Buddha's Rule,
Yea, passing over all the mighty Flood,
Sits Anuruddha rapt in reverie. (894)

¹ The eight thoughts (*Ang. Nīk.*, in 238 ff. where the dialogue is given) are that the Dhamma is for one who—(1) has few wants, (2) is contented, serene, (3) much alone, (4) strenuous, (5) introspectively mindful, (6) concentrated, and (7) wise, (8) delights in freedom from obstruction.

The course of the lineage of the Anyans (*ariyayaṇasapaṭipada*) in *Ang. Nīk.*, ii 26, is simply contentment with three of the bhikkhu's 'four conditions,' or necessities—raiment, food, and shelter—and with exercise or study, and selective or pruning culture (*bhāṇānā, paḥana*).

² A unique variation *abhiññāpatisambhīdūpariṇamay arahattay*.

³ *Ang. Nīk.*, i 23. Cf. above, p 32, n 2, *Dialogues*, i 91.

Sights, sounds and tastes, odours and things to touch,

That please and charm,¹ leaving all these behind,
Sits Anuruddha rapt in reverie. (895)

From quest of alms he cometh back alone,
An unencumbered² silent sage; from heap
Of rubbish to renew what garb he hath
Doth Anuruddha seek, sane and immune. (896)

He seeketh, taketh, washeth, dyeth, wears
The shabby gear,³ this sage deliberate :—
For such is Anuruddha, sane, immune. (897)

He who is big with wants and discontent,
Is puffed up⁴ and cleaveth to his kind,
Displayeth qualities corrupt and vile. (898)

And is he mindful, having few desires,
Contentedly serene and ne'er upset,
Delighting in seclusion, blithe of heart, (899)

Aye strenuous :—his qualities are good
And such as to enlightenment belong,
And he, sane and immune,—saith the Great
Seer. (900)

He know my heart's intent, the Master, he
Whose peer the world hath not, and came to me
By mystic power with body wrought of mind⁵ (901)

¹ Cf. verse 455

² Lit., unseconded, unmated (cf. v. 54, 541). The Commentary paraphrases this by *nittanho*, without craving Cf. *Bud Psy*, p 278, *Sutta Nipāta*, v. 740, and *Samy. Nik*, i. 25, where *faith* is the 'mate' As Anuruddha, in the *Mayhima Nikāya*, is the type of an affectionate, loyal comrade bhikkhu (Suttas 32, 128), he could not well be typical of the *monachist*, like *Ekavihāriya* (CCXXXIV). See also verse 155

³ The first Dhutanga Cf. CCLIV., verse 844

⁴ *Uddhata*, often, as here, made synonymous with want of balance, as in our 'swelled head'

⁵ Verses 901-903 are in *Ang Nik*, iii. 235, ending the lesson referred to. 'As if made of mind . . . let this body be as this mind thus by process of will fixing *iddhi*' (Commentary) Cf. *Compendium*, p 81, *adhiṭṭhāniddhi* The *Anguttara Oy* (i. 23), quotes verses 901-903.

To me, when further truths I wished to learn,
 The Wake, the Buddha [that last truth] revealed,
 He who in freedom from obsessions¹ joyed
 That freedom from obsessions taught to me (902)
 And I who heard the blessed Norm abode
 Fain only and alway to keep his Rule,
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done² (903)

Ne'er have I rested supine five and fifty years,³
 'Tis five and twenty years since sloth was over-
 come (904)

No heaving breath left as He lay,
 The mind in Jhāna's steadfast stay,
 With thought from every craving free,
 Fixed on the Peace incessantly
 So passed the Man Who Saw away (905)

With mind unshaken, as they came,
 He suffered pangs of death in peace,
 Stole o'er His heart the last release
 Nibbāna of the unfed flame.⁴ (906)

The last things these that now we see of Him,—
 Touch and the other senses of the Sage—
 No other conscious states⁵ shall come to be,
 When one that's wholly Wake doth pass away (907)

Now, a spirit,⁶ who in a former birth had been his
 attendant, seeing the Thera old and feeble came, out of

¹ *Papañca*, a word here interpreted as simply 'the (ten) *kilesas* lust,' etc. Cf p 348, n 4 and *End Psy*, p 827 f

² Cf verses 561 and *Sisters* verses 187, 194, 202

³ Cf verse 856

⁴ Verses elsewhere ascribed to Anuruddha at the Buddha's passing away (*Dialogues* ii 176, *Avadāna* 100) On the two versions (in *Dialogues*, line 4, is *yay kalam aḷari muni* 'the seer died'), cf Oldenberg's discussion, 'Studien zur Geschichte des buddhistischen Kanon,' *Nachrichten der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 1912 p 168 f

⁵ *Dhammā*

⁶ *Devatā*

her former love for him, and bade him aspire to rebirth among the gods. But he made answer :

Sojourn amid the company of gods
 Never again, seducer,¹ comes for me
 Destroyed is all renewal of rebirth.
 Now is there no more coming back to be. (908)

Then the other bhikkhus, not seeing the goddess, were wondering to whom the Thera was speaking. To show his mystic power to them he said this verse :

He who e'en in a moment by a thousand ways can take
 Purview of all the world, he is for Brahmā's heaven
 fit.²
 But here's a brother versed in power of magic who
 doth see
 What time [both men and gods], thou goddess, die and
 come to be. (909)

He now unfolds his former Karma —

Lo ! I was Annabhāra long ago,³
 A poor man working for my daily bread,
 Then I to Upariṭṭha, the recluse
 Of holy fame, made humble offering. (910)

¹ Addressed, according to the Commentary, to the goddess. In *Sany Nik*, i 200, where the goddess's verses are given, Jāhni (seducer, ensnarer) is said to be her name. Cf., however, below, ver (1181)

² The Commentary reads *sa Brahmaṇṇo* as *saha Br°*, as in the frequent term *sa Brahmaṇṇo*, etc. But this seems more strained than the interpretation above, in which, with a more literal rendering, I follow Dr Neumann. The Commentary does not explain *devatā* in the vocative, but otherwise the verse does not parse correctly. *Sa bhikkhu* I take as *eso bhikkhu*. See verse 1181, n. 1.

³ This episode is the latest recorded in the prose legend of his lives before 'our Buddha's' time. The name Annabhāra, 'food bearer,' (cf *Ang* iii 122) is doubtless framed to suit the legend or vice versa. Annabhāra works for a Councillor Sumana of Benares, who, on hearing of how the former abstained from a meal to feed a Silent Buddha, rewarded him and set him up in trade.

Then was I born within the Sākiyan clan,
 As Anuruddha known ; by dance and song
 Attended, and by clang of cymbals waked.¹ (911)
 But I beheld the Buddha, the Awake,
 The Master, for whom no whence cometh fear.
 In him my heart believed and was at rest,
 And from the home I sought the homeless life. (912)
 I know my former lives, and where and how
 I lived in years gone by ; among the gods
 Thirty and Three I stood of Sakka's rank. (913)
 Seven times a king of men I held my sway,
 Lord of the earth from end to end foursquare,
 A conqueror, of Jambudīpa chief,²
 Using no force or arms I ruled by right³ (914)
 Thence seven, and other seven spans of life,
 E'en fourteen former births I recognize,
 E'en then when in the world of gods reborn (915)
 In fivefold concentrated ecstasy,⁴
 My heart goes up in peace and unity
 Serene composure have I made my own ,
 My vision as a god's is clarified (916)
 I know the destinies of other lives :—
 Whence beings come and whither they do go ;
 Life here below, or other where of life—
 Steadfast and rapt, in fivefold Jhāna sunk. (917)
 The Master hath my fently and love,⁵
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done

¹ *Pabodhano*² See verse 822.³ Seven among gods, seven among men (Commentary) The so called 'celestial eye,' or sight is dealt with in verses 916, 917⁴ *Samādhi*—i.e., of *Fourth Jhāna*—based on his power of *abhinna* (Commentary). The 'fivefold' quality, according to the Commentary, is not the Four Stages, with the First divided (see *Bud Pay*, p 52), but a somewhat similar list of suffusion of—(1) zest, (2) pleasure, (3) *ceto*, ? will or intellect, (4) light, (5) a representative image. The fivefold Jhāna (917) is not so characterized. I have not as yet met with this classification elsewhere⁵ = verse 891, etc



IN A NIVALLIK SŪL FOREST
(Near Behra Dam United Provinces)

*' These be the thoughts that came to a Brother
Seated beneath the sŭl forest's fair blossoms,
Lone and aloof in deep contemplation '*

The Hŭl or *Storea rostrata* is eminent amongst Indian trees for its timber its tropical size and the abundance of its of wondrous yellow flowers Wright's *Illustrations of Indian Flora* p. 87

Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more (918)

In Veluva,¹ in Vñjima land twill be
That life shall reach its final term for me,
And I nenth bamboo thicket's shade that day,
Sane and immune, shall wholly pass away (919)

CCLXII

Parapariya

His story has been recorded above² Now those verses he spoke in the Master's lifetime, himself not yet arahant, touching the governance of the six powers (five senses and mind) But these verses he uttered after the Master had passed away, and when his own passing away was at hand And in them he declared the future of bhikkhus under a perverted Norm

Now the first stanza was placed by the Compilers

*These be the thoughts that came to a Brother,
Seated beneath the great forest's³ fair blossoms,
Lone and aloof, in deep contemplation - (920)*

How is the conduct of the Brethren changed
Since when the Sovereign of the world the Man
Supremo, was yet abiding on the earth! (921)
Raiment to shield from chilly winds to hide
What should be hid, enough no more they sought,
Enjoyed contentedly whatever came (922)
Whether the food was excellent or poor,
Whether twas much or little, they partook
To keep life going, free from greedy whims (923)

¹ According to the Commentary this was Hatthigāma, near Vesālī

² CCLXIX.

³ In the great wood of *sāl* trees (Commentary, 918) There was a Mahāvamsa at Kapilavasthu at Vesālī and on the Neranjari in Magadha. Pārīpariya was a Sāvalīhi Thera hence one cannot identify the wood

The requisites for men as living things,
 And medicine too as means to live:—for these
 Not fervently they cared, as care they did
 How to destroy the poisons of the mind. (924)
 In the deep forests 'neath the shade of trees,
 In caverns, in the bosom of the rocks,
 Detachment studying and developing:—
 So lived they making that their instant quest. (925)
 Of lowly, humble soul and frugal ways,
 Gentle of heart, pliant and apt in mind,
 Of gracious manner, speech not scurrilous,
 Intent on good [for others and for self].¹ (926)
 Pleasant and lovely therefore in their lives:—
 Their goings, their enjoyments, their pursuits,—
 Like the smooth tenour of a stream of oil. (927)
 For them every intoxicant was dead,
 Mighty in Jhāna they, mighty for good:
 Now are those Elders wholly passed away.
 Few now a days there be like unto them. (928)

From dearth of good conditions and insight,
 The Conqueror's Rule, compact of all that's best
 In plan and mode, crumbles and wears away. (929)
 Bad the conditions and corrupt the age,
 Wherein e'en they, who for the life detached
 Had made good start, and to the higher things
 That yet remain [might follow on],—e'en they (930)
 From the swift growth of all that doth corrupt,
 Do influence for evil many folk.
 Methinks they jugglo with [the consciences
 Of] fools as devils sport with the insane. (931)
 By the corruptions overcome, such men,—
 Pursuing here and there what doth corrupt,
 As one who calleth loud what he hath got,— (932)

¹ So the Commentary Ver 926 8 show the *Āriyāyaṣaṣaṭṭipadā*

² The three foregoing gāthās are full of difficulties, which, for me, are not always made intelligible by the Commentary *Upaṭṭhāpita-vivekāya* is *suttasuddhasīlacarā pi samānā* *Sesadhammāhā* is, lit

They quarrel 'mongst themselves, forsaking quite
 The blessed Norm, and, after errors gone,
 Do ween:—Lo! this is better, this is best. (933)
 They who have turned their back on wealth and wife
 And child, and left their home, if they but get
 Spoon-alms, will do things that beseeem them
 not. (934)

They eat until they are replete, then down
 They lie supine, and when awake, discourse
 Concerning matters which the Master blamed.¹ (935)
 All arts and handicrafts they highly rate
 And practise:—such are bhikkhus' duties deemed,
 The while from inner conquest they abstain (936)
 And clay and oil and powder for the bath,
 Water and food and lodging they present
 To laymen, in the hope of richer nlms; (937)
 Yea, toothsticks also and kapiṭṭha fruit,²
 Petals of flowers to chew, and curries choice,
 Mangoes³ and cocoanut, myrobalan. (938)
 In drug-purveying they as doctors he,⁴
 In business matters like the laity,
 Like courtezans do they parade their gear,
 And play the lord like any noble squire. (939)

'remainder of Norm ish' 'Consciences' is interpolated For *sayagāhe*, etc., *saṅgāme* is suggested, as the battle cry of Māra, captain of the *kilesas*. These, standing for evil or sin in general are greed, hate, dulness, conceit, error, perplexity, sloth, distraction, impudence, imprudence Dr Neumann cites only the first, over simplifying the evil conditions

¹ Abstemiousness, lying on the side only, and avoidance of certain topics belonged to a bhikkhu's duties Cf *Bud. Pxy*, p 353; *Dialogues*, i 245 (for 'heroes,' understand 'champions, athletes'); *Ang Nik*, i 114, *Bud. Suttas*, 227

² Apparently a kind of apple Cf *Milinda*, i 262 Identified in Childers's Dictionary as *Feronia elephantum*.

³ Mangoes, the Commentary says, typify many fruits, such as citrons, cocoanuts, etc

⁴ The practice of medicine and surgery for gain is disallowed for bhikkhus (*Dialogues*, i 25 f.).

Adulterators they, tricksters and cheats,
 Unscrupulous, by many stratagems,
 In things of this world freely they indulge (940)
 Pursuing ways and methods fit for fraud
 Seeking a livelihood¹ by cunning craft,
 They draw together plenteous store of wealth (941)
 To settle business is the Chapter called,
 Not in the interests of the holy Norm
 And when they preach to others, 'tis but gain
 That is their motive not the good of men (942)
 Many there be without the Orders fold
 Who brawl and quarrel o'er the Orders gains
 Insolent spirits they, all unashamed
 To live on offerings to others given (943)
 Thus some there are who lacking piety,
 Though with head shaved, and with the yellow robe,
 Yearn all the while to be revered,
 And hanker after favours treats, and gifts (944)

Thus when so much as now is fallen away,
 No easy thing it is, as it was then,
 Either to touch and win the unattained
 Or to hold fast what hath been touched and won (945)
 As one who shoeless walks in thorny brake
 Calling up heedfulness at every step,
 So should the sage in township make his tour (946)
 Remembering the saints of other days
 And recollecting how it was they lived
 Even though to day be but the after time
 He may yet win the Ambrosial Way of Peace (947)

*Thus in the sal wood spale the good Friar,
 Well trained and practised as to his faculties
 Then to the Saint came the Peace of the Passing—
 Came to the See, for whom was no rebirth (948)*

¹ *Jivikatthi* : (where Dr Neumann's rendering is ingenious if strained)
 is paraphrased by *jivikappa-joyan* i, *jivahetuk*

CANTO XVII

FORMS OF THIRTY VERSES

CCLVIII

Phussa

Reborn in this Buddha age as the son of the ruler of a province,¹ he was named Phussa, and was trained in all the accomplishments of noble youths. But because of the conditions to which he had attained, his heart hung not upon worldly desires, so that when he heard a certain great Thera preach the Dharma, he believed, and entered the Order. Practising himself in Jhāna, he thereby established insight, and in due course acquired sixfold abhijñā².

Now one day an ascetic named Panlara gottā³ heard him teach the Dharma. And seeing around the Thera a company of bhikkhus all of virtuous conduct, trained and controlled in body and mind, that ascetic thought 'Excellent! faith is this system! Long may it prevail on earth!' And he asked the Thera 'How will it be, your reverence, with the progress of bhikkhus in the future?

To explain this situation the Compilers first placed this verse

*Pandarusā gottā, hermit,
Seeing such a goodly audience,
Modest, quiet, contemplative,
Questions asked, addressing Phussa — (919)*

¹ *Vindulikkavāsa*. See p. 83, n. 5

² The Commentary gives Panla, Panlara, Panlarasa, as equally valid. Nothing more is known of him but it may be he is connected with the Pandarāṅgas, a set of 'Wanderers' in the days of Baddhara and his son Emperor Voka. *Saman'appa dīkṣi* (Vajras Texts II. 200)

What in the days to come will be your aims,
 And what will be your tendencies¹ and what
 Will be your customs and observances?²
 To me who ask thee do thou this declare. (950)

PHUSSA.

List to my words, Seer, Pandarasa named, *
 And store them in thy mind attentively;
 I will pronounce concerning things to come.³ (951)

Hasty of temper and malign,
 Arrogant, hypocritical,
 Deceitful, envious, bickerers;
 Thus many in those days shall be; (952)
 Deeming they know the depths of truth,
 While standing at the water's edge.
 Flighty, irreverent towards the Norm;
 And mutually irreverent. (953)

Yea, many evils on this earth
 Shall in the future come to pass.
 This Norm of ours so well set forth
 The stupid-minded will corrupt. (954)
 When in the Conclave voice and vote
 Are giv'n, men, tho' in virtue poor,
 Will forward be, in backers strong,⁴
 Scurrilous and unscholarly. (955)
 When in the Conclave voice and vote
 Are given, they of virtuous mind
 And honesty will weaklings be,
 Of shamefaced mood and little zeal. (956)

¹ = *āsiy disajjhāsayā* (Commentary)

² = *āsiyācārāsiyānto* (Commentary).

³ Analogous predictions of dangers besetting the Order in the future (*andgata bhayāni*, etc.) are ascribed, in several discourses, to the Buddha (*Ang. Nīk.* iii. 105-110, cf. pp. 176 f., 217 f., 329 f., 340).

⁴ = *pakḥhabalena balavanto* (Commentary).

Silver and gold, fields, sites and herds,¹
 Slaves, maids and men, in days to come
 The un discerning will accept. (957)
 And foolish ones in testy mood,
 Lacking in ethical restraint,
 Will truculently go about
 Like wild things spoiling for a fight (958)
 Sobriety they will not know :—
 They will be draped in robe of blue,²
 Hypocrites, stiff-necked, obstinate,
 Chatterers, skilled diplomatists,³
 Counterfeiting the saints of old (959)
 Hair sleek with oil, and frivolous mien,
 And eyelids with collyrium dyed,
 And swathed in robe of ivory hue :
 Thus will they go about the streets. (960)
 The yellow robe, that goodly dye,
 That freed souls wear without disgust,
 The Banner of the Arahant,
 Creates in them but queasiness,
 Who hanker after robes of white. (961)
 Greedy of gain they will become,
 Sluggish and poor in energy ;
 Finding fatigue in woodland haunts,
 Around the township will they bide. (962)
 And ever bent on wrongful ways,
 Without restraint, as pupils apt,
 They'll follow those who get most gifts (963)
 But they to whom no gifts are given,
 Will find nor honour nor regard ;
 Though they be men of worth and charm,
 No following will be theirs that day. (964)

¹ *I.e.*, for building, or fallow ground—*al'it'abhamikk'igo va'tha,* 'herds,' *lit.*, goats, representing all cattle (Cy) Cf. *I iv. Texts*, III. 20 f.

² 'Dyed of inappropriate colour generally' (Commentary)

³ Cf. *JPTS*, I. 187, p. 53, *M'm'li*, II. 253, *Iti vuttal'i*, p. 112. The Commentary in places defines in the same words as Buddhaghosa (*Ang. Nt.*, II. 26)

Scorning their own, the yellow gear,
 Some will wear red of foreign dye,¹
 And others will be found to wear
 White robes of some sectarian flag. (965)
 Dishonour toward the yellow robe
 They in those days will show; bhikkhus
 Will not consider what it means. (966)
 Want of discernment such as this
 Was tragedy unthinkable
 To that wise beast who lay o'ercome
 By pain, wounded, in dire distress.² (967)
 For the Six tuskier then beheld
 The well-dyed flag of arhants,
 And thereanent the elephant,
 Pointing the moral, verses spoke: (968)
 'Who suffers vice, yet dons the saffron robe,
 Keeping apart from self-control and truth,
 Unworthy he to wear the saffron hue' (969)
 'Who vice rejects, steadfast in virtuous ways,
 And yokes himself to self-control and truth,
 Worthy is he to wear the saffron hue'³ (970)
 Immoral, stupid and perverse,
 A wanton doer, one whose heart
 Wavers, whose mind is overcast
 Unworthy he of saffron robe (971)

¹ On *mulakkhurarajanaṃ rattay* the Commentary has *Intikharajanaṃ rattay*, 'the nasal *y* being inserted *metre causa*' in *mulakkhurarajana-rattay*

² *Iṃ ppaṭo*, dat. of *rappay*, *saravatikāray upajjato* (Commentary) Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, v 331

³ From the *Chāḍaṇḍa* (Six tuskier) *Jātaka*, v, No 514. The elephant, who, it was claimed was the Bodhisat (destined to become a Buddha), is trapped in a pit by the craft of a hunter, who to avoid creating suspicion of harm in the beast's mind, disguises himself as a bhikkhu! The *Jātaka* verses are also incorporated in the *Dhammapada* verses 9, 10 Cf. *Kāṣṭha Jātaka*, ii, No 221 On the word play, *kaṣṭha*, 'vice,' *kaṣṭha*, 'yellow dye,' see M. Müller's *Dhammapada*, SBE, x, 5, n 9 The citation of this ancient gīthā, and its story, by another book of the Khuddaka Nīlāya is of historical interest

He who with virtue blest, is freed
 From passion, is intent in heart,
 Whose hopes and purposes are white;¹
 Worthy is he of saffron robe. (972)
 A fool with mind puffed up, distraught,
 For whom no moral code exists:
 Gear white of hue doth he deserve.
 For saffron robe what use hath he? (973)
 Brethren and Sisters, in that day,
 With hearts corrupt, and impious,
 Will bully and humiliate
 Such as have trained their hearts in love. (974)
 And fools e'en by their Elders taught
 Rightly to wear and use the robe,
 For want of wit will listen not.
 Perverse and wanton doers all. (975)
 And so the fools, instructed thus,
 Lacking in mutual respect,
 Will not their tutors' word obey,
 No more than vicious hack its groom. (976)

Thus in the age that is to come
 Will be the course and tendencies
 Of bhikkhus and of bhikkhunis,
 When the last time shall be at hand.² (977)
 Until this time of mighty dread
 That now is not shall come to pass,
 Be ye of gentle, docile hearts,
 Filled with a mutual regard. (978)
 Be loving and be pitiful
 And well controlled in virtue's ways,

¹ Cf. verse 649 *Sutisuddhamano vitakko anācāsanakappo vā* (C3.).

² 'What,' asks the Commentary, 'is the last time (*pacchimo kālo*)?'
 "From the Third Council" (at Patna, in Asoka's reign) is a reply
 disputed by some. For there are five stages (*yugāni*) in the [life of
 the] Śāsana. *Vimutti, samādhi, sīla, suta, dāna*. They follow in
 this order, till only the outward signs (*lingamattaṃ*) survive.

Stronuous, bent upon the goal,
 And onward ever bravely press (979)
 That danger doth in dalliance lie —
 That earnestness is sure and safe —
 This when ye see, then cultivate
 The Eightfold Path, so shall ye touch,
 So make your own,¹ the Deathless Way (980)

Thus spake the Thera to his congregation Now just
 these verses were his confession of añña

CCLIX

Sariputta

His story and that of Moggallāna the Great² are taken
 together. Long ago, in the days of the Buddha Anomadassi,
 they were playmates named Sarada and Sirivaddha, sons, the
 one of an eminent brahmin, the other of a great landowner.
 Sarada succeeded to his father's estate but oppressed with
 the general doom of all creatures, he left the world to seek
 a path of release, inviting Sirivaddha to do likewise. 'I
 cannot' answered Sirivaddha, but he yielded when Sarada,
 as a Rishi, had been visited by the Buddha. Now all
 Sarada's followers became arahants after hearing Anoma,
 the chief disciple, preach the Norm. But Sarada himself,
 being pre-occupied in mind, was unable to penetrate to the
 Paths and the Fruits. Thereupon both Sarada and Sirivaddha
 aspired, in presence of the Buddha, to occupy,
 like Anoma, the post of chief disciples to a Buddha in the
 future. This the Buddha promised should come to pass in
 the days of Gotama Buddha. There is no record of their
 subsequent karma, but before our Exalted One arose,
 Sarada was reborn not far from Rajagaha, at the township

¹ Touch — i.e. 'realize' Commentary reading *plīsaṇṭa*

² See CCLXIII. Dhammapala's account of the legend is here somewhat condensed

of the Upatissas,¹ of Rūpasari the brahminess, and on the same day Sīrivaddha was born, not far from Rājagaha, at the township of the Kolitas, of Moggall the brahminess. And because each was the son of the head of his family, the one was named Upatissa, the other Kolita. Both boys² were reared in luxury, and excelled in all accomplishments. But seeing the crowds one day assembled for the hill top fair³ at Rājagaha, they both, because their insight had attained maturity, beheld how, within a century, all that folk would fall into the jaws of death, and with agitation they decided to seek a doctrine of release. And they left the world in the school of the Wanderer Sañjaya, agreeing each to tell the other if he first arrived at Amata.

In Sañjaya's teaching they found nothing genuine, and pursued their quest, asking recluses and brahmins, till through Assaji the bhikkhu, they found the Exalted One,⁴ and were by him ordained with the laying on of the hand and the words *COME BHIKKHUS*. Made Stream winners by Assaji's summary of the Norm,⁵ they had no need to study, for each of the other three Paths. Why? Because of their consummate knowledge even as disciples. Thereby the Venerable Moggallāna, on the seventh day, at the village of Kallavala in Magadha, overcame slth and torpor by the Master's injunction, and listening to an exercise on elements,⁶ won the topmost point, while the Venerable Sāriputta half a month after his ordination, won it while dwelling with the Master in the Sukarakhata Cave⁷ at Rājagaha, while

¹ Nālaka. Upatissa was his family name. Vanganta, his father's name (*Dhammapada Commentary*, ii 84 see above CCXXVIII)

² Their close friendship is described in detail in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, i 90 ff. (*Aggasaṅgaha vatthu*, on verses 11, 12)

³ *Giraggasamajja*. On *samajja*, see *Dialogues* i 7, n 4

⁴ Fully described in *Vinaya Texts* i 144 ff., hence I have greatly condensed the narrative here

⁵ Viz., that the Buddha explained all things *causally*

⁶ I cannot trace this particular exercise in the Nikāyas but there are several that may have served such a purpose—e.g., in the *Dhātu Saṅgīti*, ii 143 ff., also 218, iii 227 ff., *Ang Nāla* iii 245, 290

⁷ Or Sukara. The name is not met with elsewhere. Cf. *Dhammapada Commentary* i 96.

Dighanakha, the Wanderer, his sister's son, was being taught the 'Vodanāpariggaha' Suttanta.¹ Thereafter the Master, in conclave at Jetavana, ranked Sāriputta chief among his disciples in wisdom and insight.

And he, established in the position of General of the Norm, working for the good of beings, one day thus declared his añña before his fellow-disciples :

Whoso according to his powers
Is virtuous,² saintly, clear in mind,
Earnest his purpose to perform,
Who loveth introspective work,³
Well concentrated and intent,
Lone and detached, blissful, serene :
This man is rightly Bhikkhu named (981)

When he of food or moist or dry partakes,⁴
Let him not fully satiated be.
Lean in the stomach, temperate at meals,
And watchful let the bhikkhu wend his way⁵ (982)
Hath he but eaten mouthfuls four or five,
Let him drink water —here is sure enough
Refreshment for a bhikkhu filled with zeal. (983)
Things that are seemly let him get and take,—
Raiment that's worn for this specific end—
Comfort enough for bhikkhu filled with zeal (984)

¹ I.e., the 'Dighanakha Suttanta' (*Majjh Nik*, 2, No 74). It is called as above in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, loc cit, and in *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* on *Digha*, II, XIV, § 10

² The Commentary paraphrases *yathacari asyato kāyadīhi sayyato, sayvuto hutva carati*, which is merely exegetical, -sato is for *santo*

³ *Ajjhattarato* This apparently curious term—lit, delighting in what is of one's self, or personal—occurs in a verse repeated four times in the *Sutta Pitaka*—*Digha Nik*, II, 107, *Saṃy Nik*, V, 263, *Dhammapada*, verse 362, *Udana*, VI, 1. In *Dialogues*, II, 113, it is rendered 'with inward joy,' the Commentary only paraphrasing by *niyaka*, 'one's own' (*Therīgāthā*, ver 459). Here our Commentary paraphrases by 'delighting in the practice of meditative exercise'

⁴ The metre here changes from a long irregular one to śloka

⁵ *Paribbaje* = *vihareyya* (Cy) Quoted in *Mil* II, 350, *Jah Cy*, II, 293

And when he sitteth cross-legged on his couch,
If but his knees be screened from falling rain,¹
'Tis ease enough for bhikkhu filled with zeal. (985)

Whoso hath looked on pleasure as but pain;
Who hath discerned in pain the piercing dart;
Saw no abiding self betwixt the two :—²
What world will hold, what fate detain that
man? (986)

Ne'er give me one with evil in his heart,
Inert, inactive, and intractable,
Knowing but little of the holy Norm.
What world will hold, what fate detain that
man?³ (987)

He who is lea'nèd in the holy Norm,
Can understand, is thoroughly intent
On moral base, and knit to inward calm :—
Let him for me the head and foremost stand. (988)

Whose heart is to obsessions⁴ given o'er—
A deer seduced by fascination's snare—
He from Nibbāna goeth far astray,
To utmost haven fails to find the course (989)

¹ This is the first of the gāthās quoted in the *Milinda* as Sāriputta's (ii. 280) Some of them are not traceable in the Canon The Commentary explains 'Of whom, so seated in his hut, the rain does not wet the knees'

² Referring to the doctrine in *Samy Nik.* iv. 207; *Iti vuttaka*, § 53 The ethical point is self mastery with regard to the three modes of feeling on occasion of sense The usual reference to the third mode, neutral feeling, is 'hath looked on it as impermanent' (*aniccatto*) Here it is *anattato* The Commentary has *nāhositi yathābhūtvā bodhe na attaniyabhinnesanay ahoṣi*.

³ Lit By what in the world what may be? Quoted, but not verbatim, in *Milinda*, ii. 332 Dr Oldenberg inclines to think *anacuro* may be more correct than *anādaro*, intractable (*Theragāthā*, p. 89, n)

⁴ The difficult word *papañca* See Dr. Neumann's note at this passage and ours (*Dialogues*, ii. 312) The former renders it by *Sonderheit*, *Vielfalt*, diversity, plurality But when the danger in

Seated at foot of tree, with shaven head,
 Wrapped in his cloak, in wisdom ranked supreme,
 The Thera Upatissa musing deep, (998)
 His thought transcending acts percipient,¹
 Disciple of the supreme Buddha, he
 Thus far in Aryan silence was immersed (999)
 Even as a mountain crag unshaken stands,
 Sure based a Brother with illusions gone
 Like to that mountain stands unwavering (1000)

Now one day, through the Thera's absence of mind, the
 lap of his robe hung down And a novice said 'Your
 reverence, it should be draped around you' Then Sari
 putta, nodding, said 'Good, you have done well to say
 so' And going a little way, he draped his robe round him
 And showing that for such as he that was a fault, he said

The man of blameless life, who over seeks
 For what is pure, doth deem some trifling fault,
 That is no heavier than the tip of any hair,
 Weighty as [burden of the gravid] cloud² (1001)

Again he showed the equanimity of his mind in respect
 to living or dying with the verse

Not fain am I to die nor yet to live
 I shall lay down this mortal frame anon
 With mind alert with consciousness con
 trolled (1002)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living I await the hour
 Like any hireling who hath done his task³ (1003)

Again, in teaching the Norm, he uttered these verses

On both sides [of the scene we look] and lo!
 This dying, not the dearth of death [we see]

¹ He was in Fourth Jhāna (Commentary) But *avitalāla* is reached
 as early as the second stage

² Also in his brother's poem = verse 602

³ = verse 606 These again come into Revata's verses

Be it the backward or the forward view¹
 Fulfil ye then your course lest ye be lost¹
 See that this moment pass not by for naught¹² (1004)
 E'en as a border city guarded well
 Within, without so guard ye well yourselves¹
 See that the moment pass not and be lost,
 For many mourn in woe that moment past (1005)

Now one day, seeing the venerable Koṭṭhita the Great,
 he spoke three stanzas proclaiming his excellence³

Whoso serene and calm dead to the world
 Can utter wisdom's runes with wit unswelled
 Unruffled he doth shake off naughty things
 As they were forest leaves by wind god blown (1006)
 Whoso serene and calm dead to the world
 Can utter wisdom's runes with wit unswelled
 Unruffled he doth strip off naughty things
 As they were forest leaves by wind god blown (1007)
 Calm and serene by vice unharassed free
 From all that hinders clarity of mind
 Lovely in virtue of discerning wit
 He should End maker be of suffering (1008)

The following was said concerning the Vajjians who
 believed in Devadatta,⁴ and approved of his doctrine

Some⁵ souls there be on whom none should rely,
 Be they housefolk, or e'en among recluses

¹ Standing in middle life and looking at old age or youth (Commentary) In these four lines the śloka is exchanged for an irregular species of verse Read *ubhaya jena m idam*

² Cf verses 403, & 3 Sisters verse 5

³ Curiously enough the first is ascribed to Koṭṭhita himself See II

⁴ On the career of Devadatta first cousin to the Buddha see *Udāya Texts* I 228 ff 233 ff especially 239 ff Cf *Mūlaka* I 162 ff Sāriputta who had previously sung his praises was appointed to proclaim him a renegade whose very virtues were untrustworthy

⁵ On *et ājasa* (Cy *ekacca*) see Trenckner *Pali Miscellany* p 56

Such as have once been good and turned to bad,
 And then from bad have veered to good again (100⁹)
 Desires of sense, ill-will, torpor and sloth
 In the bhikkhu, distraction of the mind,
 And doubt:—five cankers of the heart¹ are
 these. (1010)

Whoso can suffer both extremes of fate:
 The favour and disfavour of the world,
 The while he hides in sober earnestness,
 Unwavering his concentrated mind:—(1011)
 Him, nursing ardent and unweariedly,
 With intuition fine and delicate,
 Zealous to slay the tendency to grasp:—
 Him 'a good man' indeed should others call (1012)

To draw yet other distinctions, instancing the Master
 and himself, he uttered these verses:

The mighty ocean, the extended earth,
 The mountains, yea, the firmament² afford
 No picture meet to show how excellent
 Th' emancipation of our Master's mind. (1013)
 The Elder Brother, very wise, intent,
 Who after His example turns the Wheel,
 Is like to earth, to water, and to fire,
 In that he feels no fondness nor disgust³ (1014)
 He hath the topmost place for wisdom now,
 Mighty in intellect, a mighty sage;
 Not dull is he though he seem dull of wit,⁴
 Ever in blissful cool he wends his way. (1015)

¹ These five 'Hindrances' are here classed as Kilesas, or *kilesa*? (*Bud. Psy.*, 310 ff)—so also the (Br) Cy = '*cittupakkilesa*'

² 'That which is divided into East, and so on' (Commentary)

³ The Master was, deliberately and magnanimously, as equable with regard to things desirable and undesirable as were the elements, unconsciously, says the Commentary. The bhikkhu had to cultivate the earth mind, water mind, to the same end (*Maggh. Ntā*, i 423, *Ang Ntā*, iv 374, cf *Jat*, iii 247, *Milinda*, i 258, ii 308, 311)

⁴ Cf verse 501. 'Owing [to the simplicity of his wants]' Com

To show the completion of his life's task, he said :

The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore;
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more.¹ (1016)

And when he came to his utter passing away, he thus admonished the brethren assembled around him :

Press on with earnestness and win the goal!
This the commandment that I give to you.
Lo! now my going-out complete will be.
From ull am I released and utterly.² (1017)

CCLX

Ānanda.

Deceased from the Tusita heaven, together with our Bodhisat, he took birth in the family of Amitodana the Sākiyan.³ And because the kinsfolk said, 'He is born bringing you happiness' (Ānanda), so they named him. When he was grown up, and the Renunciation, Supreme Enlightenment and Wheel-rolling had taken place, and the Exalted One had finished his visit to Kapilavatthu, Ānanda renounced the world with Bhaddiya⁴ and the others, and was ordained by the Exalted One. Not long after he heard a discourse by Punna of the Mantānis,⁵ and completed the First Path.

mentary, reading, for *mahāmuni*, *mahamati*, and quoting the Buddha's eulogy of Sāriputta, *Majjh*, iii 25

¹ = verses 804, 792, 891, 918

² Ascribed to his brother, Revata, when the latter also was dying (*verse 858*) *Cf the Buddha's last words, Darbhanga*, p. 113

³ *Cf the genealogical table in Rhys Davids, Buddhism*, p. 52, where, according to authorities later than Dhammapāli, he is made son of Suklodana, another brother of Suddhodana. Here he is made brother (possibly half brother) to Mahānāma and Anuruddha (see CCLVI)

⁴ *Cf CCLIV.*

⁵ *Cf IV.*

Now during the first twenty years of the Exalted One's Buddhahood, his personal attendants were not permanently such. One day it was Nagasamala,¹ who, taking bowl and cloak, walked [after him], another day Nāgita,² another day, Upavāna,³ Sunakkhatta,⁴ Cunda the novice,⁵ Sagata,⁶ Meghiya.⁷ Usually the Master did not favour one more than the others. But one day the Master, seated in the Buddha's seat of supremacy, in the cell of the Fragrant Chamber, surrounded by the brethren, addressed them thus: 'I, bhikkhus am now advanced in years,⁸ and some bhikkhus, when they have been told, "Let us go this way, take another way, and some drop my bowl and cloak on the ground. Do ye know of a bhikkhu to be my permanent body servant? Then a righteous thrill went through the brethren, and the venerable Sariputta arose and, bowing to the Exalted One, said: 'I, lord, will wait upon you. Him the Exalted One rejected and Moggallāna the Great also. And all the great disciples said, 'We will wait upon you,' save only Ananda. But he just sat in silence. Then they said to him: 'Brother, do you, too, ask the Master for the post of attendant? 'If I did ask what sort of post gaining would that be? He himself will say of whom he approves. Then the Exalted One said: 'Ananda, bhikkhus, is not to be urged by others, if he knows it of himself, he will wait upon me.' Then the brethren said again: 'Get up, brother Ānanda ask the Master for the post.'

¹ Cf CLXXXVI

² Cf LXXXVI

³ Cf *Dialogues* II 151

⁴ Cf *Dialogues*, III, LXIV §§ 3-4.

⁵ Apparently not Cunda the Great (CXXXI). He was attendant on Sariputta till the latter died. He then announced the death to Ananda and the Buddha (*Saṃy. Nik.* v 161 f.).

⁶ Cf *Vinaya Texts*, II 2 ff. *J. Tak.* I, No 81

⁷ Cf LXVI

⁸ Judging by Ananda's account of his term as constant attendant in verses 1039-1043 the Buddha will have been at this time fifty six years old. The twenty years of temporary attendance added to these twenty five just make up the period of the Buddha's ministry.

Then Ananda stood up and said 'If, lord, the Exalted One will refuse me four things and grant me four things, then will I wait upon the Exalted One. Will he never give me any choice garment or food gotten by him, nor a separate "fragrant cell," nor go if he has received an invitation? I or if he do not deny me these things, some will say "Where is the burden [of such service]? Ananda serves that he may get clothes, good fare and lodging, and be included in the invitations. And further, will the Exalted One go when I have received invitations? Will he suffer me to bring those to him who have come from afar and around to see him? Will he, when I am perplexed, suffer me to come to him? Will he repeat to me doctrines he has taught while I was present? For if he do not grant me these things some will say "Where is the advantage [in such service]? If when I am asked to bring the Exalted One to a meal next day he will not come or if he will not consent to see whom I would bring, people will put no trust in me, and will say he shows me no attention. And if he do not explain the doctrine and its divisions, they will say "Friend do you not know, however much you follow him like his shadow? If then, the Exalted One will grant me these eight boons I will wait upon him." And the Exalted One granted them¹

So from that day thenceforth Ananda waited upon him of the Ten Powers, bringing him water and toothpick, washing his feet, accompanying him, sweeping his cell and so forth. During the day he kept at hand to mark the Master's 'This should be procured, 'That should be done. And at night taking a stout staff and lantern, he would go nine times round the 'fragrant cell, making response if the Master called that he might not succumb to drowsiness.

Then the Master, in Ariyan conclave at the Jeta Grove,

¹ Buddhaghosa's account of Ananda's judicious contract (Commentary on *Anguttara* 1.24 f) is more coherent than that in our Burmese manuscript of *Dhammapāṇa's* Commentary. I have used its help in the above somewhat condensing both accounts.

ranked him the foremost *bhikkhu* in five respects: erudition, mental vigilance, power of walking, steadfastness, ministering care.¹ . . . And so this great Brother, remaining yet a student after the Master had passed away, when admonished by the *bhikkhus*² and alarmed by a fairy³—as has been related above—thought, ‘To-morrow’ the Council will take place, but it is not suitable that I, who am doing a student’s work, should go to the assembly to recite the Doctrine with the Masters, the Elders.’ Then zeal awoke in him, and far through the night he practised insight on the Terrace. His efforts yet unrewarded, he entered the Vihāra, and seated on his couch, and desirous to lie down, he inclined his body. His head had not touched the pillow, nor his feet left the ground, when in that interval his heart was freed from the intoxicents without any grasping whatever, and he won sixfold abhiññā. Therefore he entered the Council Hall.

Now the verses he had uttered from time to time were collected, and included in the Brethren’s Psalms at the recital of the Khuddaka-Nikaya.⁴

The first stanzas were delivered in admonition to those *bhikkhus* whom he saw concurring with Devadatta’s partisans:

With slanderer and man of wrath,
 With the mean-hearted and malign⁵
 No commerce should the wise man hold
 Evil is concourse with the bad. (1018)
 With the believer and the wise,
 The gentle and the learned man⁷
 Communion should the wise man hold,
 For blest is concourse with the good. (1019)

¹ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24 f

² *Vinaya*, ii. 288

³ *Saggy Nik.*, i. 199 Cf above, CMLX ⁴ *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 373 f.

⁵ The fifth and concluding section of the *Sutta-Piṭaka*, containing, *inter alia*, the present work.

⁶ Lat. *delighting in rum* (of others) On Devadatta, see preceding poem

⁷ *Pesalo*, amiable, is, in the Commentary, having charming virtue (*piyasīlo*)

The following verse was uttered when the lay follower Uttara was suffering her own beauty to dispose her to sensuality, and in order to make her understand the frailty of the body. Some say it was spoken in admonition of those who lost their heads at sight of Ambapali.¹

Behold the tricked out puppet shape a mass
Of sores a congeries diseased teeming
With many purposes and plans and yet
In whom there is no power to persist (1020)
Behold the tricked out form bejewelled ringed
All sheathed in bones and skinny envelope
By help of gear made fine and fair to see² (1020 i)

The next two verses were a psalm uttered by the Theri when he had won arahantship that night on his couch.

Much learned in holy lore and eloquent
The lead henchman of the Buddha he
Now hath the burden fallen from his back³
Relieved the Gotamud lies down to rest (1021)
For him the deadly cankers have no more
Gone are the chains the barriers all behind
In blissful cool he bears his final frame
For ever past the power of birth and death (1022)
Wherein were founded and set up the truths
Taught by the Buddha of the Sun's great line —
The Path that to Nibbana straight doth lead—
There too stands Ananda the Gotamud⁴ (1023)

¹ I can trace neither episode. See verses 769-770. Uttara a lay follower has a story in the *Dihammapada Commentary* 11: 202 ff but it is not that alluded to above.

² Dr Oldenberg allows for the *pe* etc in the manuscripts only one verse (769) but the Commentary gives verses 769-770 in full.

³ *Pannabhāro* a fallen burden-er (*Majjh. Nik.* 1. 139 etc). The qualification in Bunyan of the new convert is in Buddhism a culminating event for the arhat.

⁴ The Commentary makes a Great Brahmin god vindicate Ananda's rank as arhat on his entry at the Council by these words. Cf. above Khnya sobhita CLXXV. On the Sun lineage of the Gotama clan cf. XLVI and CXXXV.

Now one day Moggallāna the brahmīn cattle-herd¹ asked the Thera: 'You are very learned in the Buddha's Rule. How many of the doctrines your Master taught do you keep in your mind?' The Thera replied:

Eighty-two thousand from the Buddha's self
I've learned, from brethren yet two thousand
more:

Hence four and eighty thousand texts in all
The number that for me have currency.² (1024)

One day the Thera showed a man of desultory life the danger of no culture thus:

Whoso but little knowledge hath,
That man grows old as doth an ox.³
His fleshly bulk is multiplied,
But understanding groweth not. (1025)

The following verses he said concerning a bhikkhu who despised another as less learned than himself:

The learned man who doth despise,
For knowledge, him who little knows,
Is as a blind man who doth bear
A lamp:—so 'tis borne in on me.⁴ (1026)
Wait on the men of learning; look
That learning nowise injured be;
For 'tis the root of holy life;⁵
Hence hear the Doctrine in your hearts (1027)
Knowing the sequence of the text,⁶
And versed in what the text doth mean,

¹ Ānanda's interlocutor in the 'Gopaka Moggallāna Sutta' (*Majjh. Nik.*, in 7 ff.), where, however, this question does not find a place

² *Paṭaṭṭhano*, 'that proceed', the better way, in Buddhist psychology, of expressing the popular 'keep in mind' (*dhammā*)

³ *I.e.*, not seeking the good of parents, kin, or anyone (Commentary)

⁴ *I.e.*, while his knowledge benefits others, his pride darkens his own progress (Commentary)

⁵ The fulcrum for saintly effort (Commentary)

⁶ *I.e.* if half a stanza is given, he can supply the other half (Commentary)

Apt to interpret and explain :¹
 This scholar grasps the Norm aright,
 And well its sense doth ascertain (1028)
 By patience eager purpose grows,²
 Up surges effort; then he weighs,
 Thus timely exercising will,³
 Within he grows composed, intent. (1029)

Who in the Norm is widely versed
 And hears its doctrines in his heart,
 Disciple of the Buddha, wise,
 Eager to understand the Norm :⁴
 Such as he is, him follow ye (1030)
 Who in the Norm is widely versed
 And hears its doctrines in his heart,
 Of the great Master's treasure Ward,⁵
 An eye is he for all the world,
 Whom all should honour and revere,
 Who in the Norm is widely versed. (1031)
 Who in the Norm takes his delight,⁶
 Doth love and con it over well,
 And lets it live in memory,
 That brother from the holy Norm
 Will ne'er secede nor fall away. (1032)

¹ *Nirutti* here represents the other three *pativibhūti*s as well (Commentary). Cf *Sisters* p 17, n. 1

² *Chandakato koto*. In *Īddhanga*, p 208, *chandakati*, the corresponding abstract noun, is synonymous with *kattulamyati*, desire to do. The Commentary paraphrases by *chandayito*. Hence apparently *kato* signifies 'formed' or 'set up,' and not 'done' or 'fulfilled.'

³ *Padahati*.

⁴ *Dhammavimūḍḍapay ākanḥḥay dhammavimūḍḍasanti* (alay dhammavimūḍḍanay). *Vimūḍḍapay* is knowing on occasion of, or in connection with, sense objects. It is probably used here *metre* caused for want, for I cannot match such usage of the term.

⁵ *Kosirakkho* an allusion to his usual (Commentarial) title of *Dhammabhāṣaṭṭhagāṭhā*, Treasurer of the Norm.

⁶ Lit, having the Doctrine as his pleasure (Dhammapada Commentary, SC4).

When he, endowed with every crowning grace
The All-Enlightened Buddha passed away. (1046)

The three following stanzas were added by the members of the Council in praise of the Thera :

*Who in the Norm is widely versed,
And bears its doctrines in his heart—
Of the great Master's treasure Ward—
An eye was he for all the world,
Ānanda, who is passed away. (1047)*
*Who in the Norm is widely versed,
And bears its doctrines in his heart—
Of the great Master's treasure Ward—
An eye was he for all the world,
Dispelling gloom in darkest place. (1048)*
*Sage of the tireless ministry,
Foremost in mindful vigilance,
Foremost in steadfast fortitude,¹
Upholder of the holy Norm,
Of all its jewels living mine :—
Our Elder Brother, Ānanda. (1049)*

And this verse he said as he lay a-dying his last death :

The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more.² (1050)

¹ *Gatimanto, saṁtānanto, dhammanto*, strictly nominative plurals, are explained in the Commentary as adjectives to *vi*, and are presumably a poetic liberty. The first is explained as *paññanagati*. Buddhaghosa, however (Commentary on *Ang. Nid.*, i. 24), dwells on Ānanda's untiring activity and readiness to act in his Master's service.

² See verse 1016 and notes there given.

CANTO XVIII

PSALM OF FORTY VERSES

CCLXI

Kassapa the Great¹

Our Master had already arisen and was turning the Wheel of the Norm and staying at Rajagaha, when at the brahmin village of Mahā tāttha in Magadha this Thera was reborn as Pippali manava the son of the chief wife of Kapila the brahmin. Four years later Bhadda Kapilani was reborn of the chief wife of the Kosiya gotta brahmin at Sagala in the kingdom of Madda.² Now Pippali manava refused to marry. 'While you live' he told his parents,

I will take care of you afterwards I shall leave the world. But to appease his mother he had a statue made of a beautiful maiden dressed in crimson and ornaments and showed it her saying 'Mother, if I find anyone like this I will lead the domestic life. His mother was a clever lady and sent brahmins forth with the statue, on that quest. They came to Sagala and setting the statue by the river's edge sat down apart. Now Bhadda's nurse who had bathed her charge and gone down again for her own bath saw the statue, and thinking 'What' is my

¹ The legend in their former and their last lives of Mahā Kassapa and his wife (see *S. stera* p. 47 ff.) itself fit subject for a poem is too long to reproduce in full and is here greatly condensed. It follows very closely the vers on given in the Commentary on the *Ang. Nik.* 1. 23. Under Vipassī Buddha they were a brahmin couple with but one cloak between them for outdoor wear. Th's Kassapa presented to the Buddha. They were husband and wife in many rebirths.

² Cf. *Jat.* v. (No. 531) 283-289 vi. (No. 545) 280.

young lady so ill bred? elipped it on the cheek, and discovered it was not Bhaddā, but a gold statue. The brahmins accosted her, inquiring about her mistress, and she brought them to the house of Kosiyagotta, where they were made welcome. And they sent word to Kapila, 'We have got the maiden, do you act accordingly.' But Pippali manava and Bhadda, being both unwilling to marry, wrote secretly each to the other, thus—He 'Bhadda!' and she 'Sir' 'May you obtain a menage suitable to your birth and fortune. I shall leave the world. Do not act so as to regret hereafter.' Now the two letter bearers met, questioned each other, read the letters, and said 'Look at the work of these children.' Throwing away the letters in the forest, they wrote others and took them. So the marriage was celebrated. But the wedded pair spent the night separated by a chain of flowers. And when Pippali manava's parents died, he and Bhadda decided one day, after they had dined and talked together, to renounce the world.

And they got out yellow raiment from their wardrobes, and cut off each other's hair, slung bows from their shoulder, passed out through their weeping servants, to all of whom they gave their freedom, and departed together, Pippali manava walking in front.

And looking back, he thought 'Here is Bhadda Kapilā, a woman worth the whole of India, walking at my heels. Someone seeing me will think "These have renounced the world, but cannot do without each other. So, falsely accusing us, they may incur danger of purgatory." And he told Bhadda this, and she agreed that a woman must needs be a hindrance to the male recluse. So they settled, at the cross roads, that he should go right and she left. Then the earth, though it could bear all Sineru, trembled at the weight of such virtue.¹ And the supreme Buddha, seated in the fragrant chamber of the great vihara in the Bamboo Wood, knew what the earthquake signified, and gathering eighty chief Theras

¹ The second of the eight causes of earthquakes in *D. dialogues* ii. 144

together, he walked three leagues on the road, and seated himself at the foot of the Bahupattaka Banyan,¹ between Rajagaha and Nalanda. And though he was clad in a ragged robe, the Buddha rays shone forth from him and darted to and fro, and the tree took on different colours. Then Kassapa the Great² perceived 'This will be our Master, through whom I have left the world.' And bending low, he said 'Thou lord, the Exalted One, is my Master! I am his disciple.' And the Exalted One said 'Sit Kassapa, and I will show thee thine inheritance. And in three homilies he gave him ordination. So they returned to Rajagaha. Kassapa exchanging his now robe for the Master's old one³ and with humility and zeal determining to practise the thirteen dhutangas.⁴ And on the eighth day thereafter he won arahantship with thorough grasp of the spirit and letter of the Norm. Him the Master pronounced chief among those who undertook the extra austerities. And he, by way of showing the charm of detachment, told his experiences, in admonishing the brethren, thus

1

On seeing bhikkhos mingling with crowds, and frequenting laymen's houses

Walk not where many folk would make thee chief

Dizzy the mind becomes,⁵ and hard to win

Is concentrated thought. And he who knows

Ill bodes the company of many folk

Will keep himself aloof from haunt of crowds (10.1)

¹ *I.e.* of the Many Sons presumably (with its Cetiva) a votive tree for parents praying for offspring

² Here the name he is known by suddenly appears. It was presumably that of his gens

³ One gathers that the Buddha wore the ragged robe intentionally. The episode is described in charming detail but is omitted for brevity

⁴ See 166, n. 3

⁵ *Vimano vilaribh tacitto* (Cy).

By forces of the spirit fortified,
 Doth Kassapa ascend the mountain brow. (1058)
 Returning from the daily round for alms,
 Kassapa mounts some craggy coign and sits
 In meditation rapt, nor clutching aught,
 For far from him hath he put fear and dread (1059)
 So mounting to some craggy coign he sits,
 In meditation rapt, nor clutches aught,
 For he 'mong those that burn is cool and still (1060)
 So mounting to some craggy coign he sits,
 In meditation rapt, nor clutches aught;
 His task is done, and he is sane, immune. (1061)

IV.

On being asked further. 'But why does your reverence
 at your time of life dwell in the mountain-jungle? Is not
 the Bamboo Grove, or others like it pleasant to you? he
 replied:

Those upland glades delightful to the soul,
 Where the *kareri* spreads its wildering wreaths,²
 Where sound the trumpet calls of elephants:
 Those are the brakes wherein my soul delights (1062)

¹ The text repeats also the line, 'Returning' etc

² The *kareri* is called in Childers' Dictionary—I do not know on what authority, it is apparently not in Sanskrit literature—the *Cypripis trifoliata* tree. It gave the name to a pavilion or *mahala* built in the Jeta Grove at Sravasthi (*Dialogues*, ii. 4. U'iana, l. 8). From the expression above, *karerim iva vishati*, I am much tempted to see in the plant the musk rose-tree (*Rosa moschata*) of Nepal and the North Western Himalayas which is still known in some dialects as *karer*, and is thus described in Dietrich Brandis' *Indian Trees* (London, 1906) 'A thorny shrub climbing to the tops of lofty trees, flowering branches hanging down in rich festoons. Flowers, white . . . in large compound terminal corymbs. Found at a height of from two to eleven thousand feet. Nearly allied to the *Rosa sempervirens* of the Mediterranean region'. Could the 'caper' tree be described as making a glade *mukits'atī*, 'enwebbed' or 'festooned with wreaths,' as well as a climbing rose?

For that which brings me exquisite delight
Is not the strains of string and pipe and drum¹
But when with intellect well poised intent
I gain the perfect vision of the Norm (1071)

v

When admonishing bhikkhus delighting in secular activities and greedy as to gifts of things needful for life he said

Let not a brother occupy himself
With busy work let him keep clear of folk
Nor strive [to copy nor to emulate]
Who greedy seeks to taste life's feast entire
*Neglects the good that brings true happiness*² (1072)
Let not a brother occupy himself
With busy works let him keep clear of this
That nowise tendeth to his real good
The body toils and suffers weariness
And thus afflicted he attains no calm (1073)

vi

The following verses were spoken to admonish on certain occasions

By mere repeating with a muttering lip³
We see not even ourselves for what we are
And so stiff necked we go about and deem
A better man am I than he than they (1074)
No better truly is the fool and yet
He deems himself to be the better man
But him poor creature of a stiff necked mind
Commend not they who truly understand (1075)

¹ L t., the five kinds of musical instruments — verse 398

² Cf verses 494 1052

³ *Oṭṭapahatavallena sajjhayalavaravareṇa* (Commentary) Cf Mayh Nik i 164

Who is not exercised about himself,
 In this way or in that ¹— 'the better man
 Am I, 'no better, I or 'I am worse
 Or yet again 'I am as good as he — (1076)
 He who doth really know, and speaketh truth ²
 Whose heart in righteousness is well composed
 And holdeth fast the saints serenity,³
 Him do they praise who truly understand (1077)
 He who among his fellow brethren wins
 No reverence is far from the good norm
 As is the firmament far from the earth ⁴ (1078)
 But they who well have planted modesty
 And oke discretion alway in their heart
 They in the holy life do richly thrive
 For them rebirths are over not an end (1079)
 A brother who though clad in patchwork robe
 Is of a puffed up and unsteady mind
 As were a monkey in a lion's hide
 No glory from his gear august doth gain (1080)
 But who with uninflated steadfast mind
 Is prudent with his senses well controlled
 He shineth glorious in a patchwork robe
 As lion in the sombre mountain cave (1081)

VII

On witnessing the gods of the Brahma world doing
 obeisance to the Venerable Sariputta and marking how the
 Venerable Kappina smiled

*See how they stand those thronging deities
 Of mystic potency and glorious
 Ten times a thousand all of Brahma's heaven* (1082)

¹ *Idhasu*. Nine such modes of self-conceit are documented in *Vibhanga* p 389 Cf *Bud. Psj* § 1116 Any *Asi* iii 359

² The Commentary reads *not tathāvāday* but *tatā tad y* *itā ad su tad-ā* *atāyapattiya*. The former reading is less forced.

³ *Arahattapālasamū patisamapajjanena* (Commentary).

⁴ *see* verse 278

Around our valiant Captain of the Norm,
Great son of Sāri calm and rapt in thought
Acclaiming him with clasped hands upraised — (1083)

Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat!
Glory to thee O thou supremest man!
Lo! past our thinking are thy ranging thoughts (1084)
O wondrous are th Enlightened of the world!¹
Their intuition, how profoundly deep,
Beyond the powers to which we testify,
Though we be skilled as archers splitting hairs!² (1085)

Then, seeing Sariputta thus adored
By hosts divine saint most adorable,
A smile stole o'er the face of Kappina³ (1086)

VIII

The Thera's lion's roar concerning himself!

In the whole field of Buddhas following,
Saving alone the mighty Master's self
I stand the foremost in ascetic ways,
No man doth practise them so far as I (1087)

The Master hath my fealty and love⁴
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more (1088)

For never thought for raiment, nor for food
Nor where to rest doth the great mind affect,
Immeasurable of our GOTAMA

¹ *Buddh nay Cf Dialogues* n 2 *Itivuttaka* § 69

² A phrase elsewhere associated with Sariputta's intellectual powers
See his brother's verse XL

³ Kappina the Great *Cf CCXXXV* We have seen this tribute
of the [gods] produce the same effect on the Master *Cf CCXLII*
verses 629-630

⁴ = verse 1050 and *passim*

No more than spotless lotus-blossom takes
 A mark from water;¹ to self-sacrifice²
 Continually prone, he from the sphere
 Threefold³ of new becoming is detached. (1089)
 The neck of him is like the fourfold tower
 Of mindfulness set up; yea, the great Seer
 Hath faith and confidence for hands; above,
 The brow of him is insight; nobly wise,
 He ever walketh in cool blessedness. (1090)

¹ Cf verse 701; also the preceding verses in that poem with the concluding similes above

² *Nikkhamma*

³ The three planes of existence: *kāma bhava*, or *-loka*, *rūpabhava*, *arūpabhava*. See *Compendium*, p 135

CANTO XIX

18ALMS OF FIFTY VERSES

CCLXII

Talaputa

REBORN in this Buddha age at Rajagaha in an actor's family, he acquired proficiency at theatres suited to clansmen,¹ and became well known all over India as leader of a company of actors. With a company of five hundred women and with great dramatic splendour he attended festivals in village, township and royal residence, and won much fame and favour. Now when he had been giving performances at Rajagaha² with his usual success, his ripening insight prompted him to visit the Master. And seated at one side, he said 'I have heard it said, your reverence, by teachers and their teachers, when speaking of actors, that the actor who, on the stage, counterfeiting truth, amuses and delights his audience, will be reborn after death among the gods of laughter. What does the Exalted One say on this point?' Thrice the Exalted One rejected the question, saying 'Ask me not of this director. But when asked the fourth time, he said 'Director, those persons who induce sensual, misanthropic or mentally confused states in others and cause them to lose earnestness, will after death be reborn in purgatory. But if he thinks as you have heard, then his opinion is wrong. And the fate of one who thus holds wrong opinions is to be reborn either in purgatory, or as an animal. Thereupon Talaputa wept. Said I not to

¹ *Kulanuri pesu naccattil mesu*

² *Nagaravasinā samajja dasseti*

you, director, "Ask me not concerning this?"' 'Not for this reason, your reverence, do I weep, that the Exalted One has thus spoken concerning the future state, but because older actors have deceived me, saying that an actor holding a public performance is reborn in a happy life.'

Then Tālaputa listened to the Master's teaching, and receiving faith, was ordained, and after due study won arahantship. Thereafter, showing in varied detail how he had restrained and chastened his heart to deeper understanding, he uttered these verses:

I.

When shall I come to dwell in mountain caves,
Now here, now there, unmated with desire,
And with the vision gained
Into impermanence
Of all that into being doth become—
Yea, this for me, o'en this, when shall it come to
be?¹ (1091)

O when shall I, who wear the patchwork cloak,
Be a true saint of yellow robe,
Without a thought of what is 'mine';
And from all cravings purified,
With lust and hate, yea, and illusions slain,
So to the wild woods gone, in bliss abide? (1092)

O when shall I, who see and know that this
My person,² nest of dying and disease,
Oppressed by age and death,
Is all impermanent,
Dwell free from fear lonely within the woods—
Here, where shall I dwell? (1093)

¹ The metre of the text is Triṣṭubh throughout. In trying to reproduce the wistful yearning of the opening, I have had the 'Choric Song' of Tennyson's 'Lotus-Eaters' in mind. *Elākko* = *ekoko*.

² *Kuyo*, literally, group, including not body only, but the mental groups (Commentary). 'Nest'. cf. *Its vuttaka*, § 43.

O when shall I with insight's whetted sword
 Have cut it down, this creeper of Desire¹
 With all its tendrils twining far and strong,
 Breeder of many fears,
 Bearer of pain and woe—
 Yea even this¹ when shall it come to be? (1094)

O when shall I have power to draw the blade
 Of insight fiery splendour of the Saints
 And swiftly shatter Mara and his host
 While in the victor's posture seated still—
 Yea when shall these things come to be? (1095)

O when may I in pious companies
 Be seen among all such as hold the Norm
 In reverence given to noble toil
 With them who see the heart of things
 With masters over sense—
 Yea when shall these things come to be? (1096)

O when will slackness hunger, thirst
 No more distress me nor the wind the heat
 Insects and creeping things wreak scathe on him
 Who on the Fastness of the Crag³
 Doth mind his own high needs—
 Yea when shall this thing come to be? (1097)

O when shall I with thought composed intent
 And clarity of insight come to touch
 That which the mighty Seer understood—
 The Four, the Aryan Truths
 So passing difficult to see—
 Yea even this when shall this come to be? (1098)

¹ *Tan'a lala* A favour to smile in the Canon Cf verse 761

² The whole line is implicit in the word *sāhane* 'in the lion's seat' or 'on a throne' Commentary *Uṇṇasane apar'itapallāṇhe*

³ Gimbhaya See CCXXXIV 54, n

O when shall I, yoked to the avenues of calm
 With deeper vision see the things of sense
 Innumerable—*sights and sounds*
 Odours and tastes and tangibles
 And all the inner objects of the mind
 As things ablaze and burning—¹
 Yea when cometh this for me? (1099)

O when shall I abide [unmoved]—
 Because of speech abusive not downcast
 Nor when again my praise is sung
 Be filled with complacency—
 When cometh this for me? (1100)

O when as so much firewood bindweed straw
 Shall I esteem the factors of my life?²
 With all the countless objects known by sense³
 Internal or without
 Judging them all alike—
 [Hollow impermanent] —yea this for me O
 when? (1101)

O when will [break above my head]
 The purple storm-cloud of the rains
 And with fresh torrents drench my raiment in
 the woods
 Wherein I wend my way
 Along the Path the Seers have trod before—
 Yea when shall this thing come to be? (1102)

¹ Cf *Sisters* verses 200-351. The Commentary in sampling the things of sense specifies among inner objects things as pleasant and as painful but they include also concrete perceptions (as distinct from each mode of sensation) images ideas etc.

² This was a great step for one of Talaputa's art to surmount *Et andl e*

³ *Dhammā Commentary* 1. *padā e*
Aniccadvāsenā e eva anarādā pa natasena (Commentary)

Have I not O my heart been urged by thee
 'On Fastness of the Garg
 Bright-plumaged passengers of air
 Greeting great India's thunder with their cries
 Do give him joy who ponders in the wood (1108)

In social circle friends beloved and kin
 The joys of games of art delights of sense —
 All have I put away to come to this
 Well then O heart, art thou not pleased
 with me? (1109)

I was only for myself I acted thus
 For no one else [made I this sacrifice]
 Why then lament when comes the time to arm?
 This life is all a-quake¹—so I beheld²
 And I renounced the world and chose the Ambrosial
 Way (1110)

Hath he not said—who sayeth all things well
 The best of beings³ great Physician
 Tamer and driver of the sons of men—
 Unsteady is the heart like [juggling] ape⁴
 So hardly may that heart
 With passions not overcome be held in check (1111)

For varied sweet entrancing are desires of sense
 Wherein the ignorant majority
 Entangled lie They do but wish for ill
 Who seek to live again
 Led by their heart to perish in the Pit (1112)

¹ I.e. to study (Commentary)

² *Of Sisters* p 188 verses 200 201

³ Lit. of bipeds *Of Sisters* verse 433 Dr Neumann cites one other instance *Epigraphia in lucra* iii p 3131 6

⁴ See Ps. CXXIII

'There in the jungle ringing with the cries
Of peacock and of heron wilt thou dwell
By panthers and by tigers owned as chief¹
And for thy body cast off care,
Miss not thine hour thino nna² *
So wast thou wont my heart to urge on me (1113)

Create develop³ thou the Ecstasies
The fivefold moral Forces and the Powers
The seven Wings of Wisdom
And the four Grades of concentrated will⁴
Touch thou the Triplo Loto
Within the Buddhas Rule —
So wast thou wont my heart to urge on me (1114)

Create develop in thy life the Path
Whereby thou mayest win Ambrosia—
The way of progress and egress
Founded upon the ending of all Ill
Eightfold purging from all that doth defile —
So wast thou wont my heart to urge on me (1115)

This mind and body shouldst thou scrutinize
And hold as ill — and all the source of ill
Do thou put far from thee
Yea here and now make thou an end of ill¹ —
So wast thou wont my heart to urge on me (1116)

And understand that transiency is all
Is empty without soul is bane and bale
Restrain thy moods discursive vagrancies —
So wast thou wont my heart to urge on me (1117)

¹ Because of the exercise of universal love [*metta(brahma)* viśrat-ja] (Commentary)

² *Māvirādīja* is the text in the Commentary and the comment
viśvirādīchi miss not this moment so hard to win Cf verse 403

³ For *blave* the Commentary gives cause to arise make to grow

⁴ The numbers are given in the Commentary The last refer to the four Iddhipādas Cf *Compendium* p 180 d e f c and above verse 437

'Shaven, unsightly, and apostrophized¹
 When come for alms, with skull-like bowl in hand²
 Among the citizens,
 Do thou now give thyself
 Wholly to carry out the Master's Word, the Seer's':—
 So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1118)

'Walk thou well disciplined within the streets,
 With mind unfettered by the sense-desires
 Of them that live therein.
 Be like the moon a fortnight old in cloudless
 sky':³—
 So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1119)

'He who in forest dwells and lives by alms,
 Who haunts the field of death, wears patchwork robe,
 Refrains from lying down,⁴
 He ever finds the true ascetic joy':—
 So wast thou wont, my heart to urge on me. (1120)

'As one who, having planted trees, seeks fruit,
 Dost thou now, finding none, desire to cut
 Thy tree down at the root?'—
 Such was the parable thou mad'st, my heart,
 When thou the unstable and th' impermanent
 Didst urge on me. (1121)

Thou unseen thing that knowest from afar,⁵
 Rising in single file, no more thy word
 Will I obey. For thy sense-born desires
 Lead but to woe, to bitter fruit, to brooding fear.
 Henceforth toward Nibbāna's peace alone
 I'll set my face and walk. (1122)

¹ Dhammapala, reading also *abhisāpam-āgato*, refers to *Itivuttaka*,
 § 91. His Commentary on that work has *abhisāpo ti allosa*

² Cf. p. 113, n. 1.

³ Cf. verse 306.

⁴ Cf. verse 856

⁵ Cf. *Dh'pada*, ver. 37. *Comy*, i. 304. The latter work is largely
 in literal agreement with our Commentary on this and the next

I did not leave the world when out of luck,
 Nor as a shameless joke, nor from a whim,
 Nor was I banished in disgrace,
 Nor seeking daily bread,
 When I did give consent, my heart, to thee. (1123)

' Good men do praise small needs and much
 content,
 Yea, and renouncing of hypocrisy,
 And the assuaging of all pain':—
 Thus didst thou, O my heart, exhort me then.
 Now go'st thou back to all thy former loves. (1124)

Craving and ignorance and loves and hates,
 And things of beauty, all the pleasant thrills
 And charm of sensuous joys:—these have I
 vomited,
 Nor may I strive to come once more to things
 thus spurned (1125)

Where'er my life has fallen, O my heart,
 Thy word have I obeyed.
 In many births thou'st not been vexed with me
 And *this* is all thy gratitude:—
 This individual compound self,
 With all the suffering wrought by thee
 A-down the long, long reons of my life (1126)

phrase Consciousness has no visible properties, and cannot move in space the width of a spider's thread, but knows its object without such contact. Again, it is a series of units of mental life arising singly 'Two, three consciousnesses do not arise together. One ceases, another rises.' It is just possible that what the Pali suggests to us—'Thou formless, lonely traveller afar'—may be nearer what Tālapuṭa meant than the psychological interpretation of the scholastics. Nevertheless, when the lines elsewhere suggest romance to the latter, they do not stifle it. Anyway, the characteristic Buddhist *difference* is interesting.

Thou, O heart, dost make us what we are
 Thou makest, we become A brahmin now,
 Then are we nobles, yea, a king, a seer,¹
 Burgess one day, and serf the next are we,
 Or e'en a deity—and all
 In virtue of thine agency alone. (1127)

Through thee alone have we been Asuras,
 Thou working, have we been through hellish
 doom,
 Again, one day, in realm of beasts reborn,
 Or Peta, by thine agency alone (1128)

Nay now, thou shalt not dupe me as of old
 Time after time, again, ever again
 Like mountebank showing his little masque,²
 Thou playest guileful tricks with me
 As with a lunatic³
 Tell me, my heart, wherein am I at fault? (1129)

Once roamed this heart a field, a wanderer,
 Wherever will or whim or pleasure led
 To day that heart I'll hold in thorough check,
 As trainer's hook the savage elephant⁴ (1130)

To me the Master did insist⁵—this world
 Was transient, temporal, without a soul
 Now, heart, leap forward in the Conqueror's Rule,
 And bear me o'er the great forbidding floods⁶ (1131)

For thee, O heart, things are not as of yore⁷
 'Twill not suffice that I within thy power
 Fall back to live once more

¹ In *vyasaśāstra* the *d* is inserted to link the two words (Cv)

² Reading *caranikay* See Additions etc

³ Cf verse 931, *JPTS* 1889, p 203

⁴ See LXXVII, p 76

⁵ *Adhyatma*, an uncommon use of this word

⁶ Of *Saṅgata* (Commentary)

⁷ Cf es 126, 230

Gone forth am I nath the Great Masters Rule
Men such as I now nath no forfeit will endure (112)

Mountains and seas the rivers earth it¹ if
The quarters four the intervening points
The nether sea and all the heavens above¹
Three planes of being² each impermanent
And all of them forlorn—
Where canst thou then my heart find ease and
rest² (113)

Since I've the goal so firm so sure O heart²
Whit wilt thou do [to make me turn]²
No more bet mine my heart, to follow thee
None in good sooth would touch a lag
That opened at both ends—Fie¹ then
On that full thing flowing with issues mine¹ (114)

O [thou wilt love the life] bet on the crest
Of caverned cliffs where herd hour and gazelle
Or in fan open glade or in the depths
Of forest freshened by new rain—tis there
Thy joy for thee to cavern-cottage gone¹ (115)
Fair-plumed fair-crested passengers of air
With deep blue throats and many hued of wing
Give greeting to the muttering thundercloud
With cries melodious manifold tis they
Will give thee joy whiles thou art musing
there (116)

¹ *Disa ti devaloka* : (Commentary)

² Cf verse 1069

³ The Commentary reads *Ditipparan ti dhila para janay parij*
: a) *thirabhāve dhilay* may caletay na salkkhasasi ti altho
This too is preferable to reading 'fie' (*dhila* 'here and 'he' again is
the same g'tl.)

⁴ Reading with the Commentary : *bhato* This otherwise uninterpretable line then falls into its place in quaint but pointed contrast to the figure of the body Cf verses 29 1151

⁵ An attempt to reproduce the Pali alliteration—*g il ig'hagato*

And when the god rains on the four-inch grass,¹
 And on the cloud-like crests of budding woods,
 Within the mountain's heart I'll seated be
 Immobile as a lopped-off bough,² and soft
 As cotton down my rocky couch shall seem (1137)

Thus will I do e'en as a master should.
 Whate'er is got, be it enough for me.
 And like a tireless tanner dressing hides,³
 I'll make thee soft as catskin finely dressed. (1138)

Thus will I do e'en as a master should.
 Whate'er is got, be it enough for me.
 I'll lead thee in my power by force of will,⁴
 Like a fierce elephant by skilled mahout. (1139)

With thee at length well tamed and steadfast grown,
 Like trainer with a steed well purged of vice,
 Then can I tread the Path of happy fate,
 Haunted by them whose hearts are guarded
 well. (1140)

And to the object thou shouldst think upon
 I'll bind thee by the power that training gives,
 As elephant by strong cord bound to post
 So when I have thee guarded well, and trained
 By clarity of thought, thou shalt become
 Unleaning on all forms of future life. (1141)

When by the aid of insight thou hast dammed
 Thine errant course, by study hast restrained,

¹ 'Resembling a crimson blanket' (Commentary) reminds us of our clover fields

² Lit., 'like a log without appurtenances' (Commentary) Cf LXII

³ Cf this simile in *Mayh Nāḥ*, i. 128 The Commentary reads, for *taṇ taṇ karissāmi*, *naḥanta kassāmi*.

⁴ *Vīriyena*

Turned it along the avenue [of truth],¹
 So thou canst see how all things do become —
 Rise into being and are then dispersed—
 Then shalt thou be the [child and] heir of Him
 Knower and Teacher of the Things Supreme (1142)

On the fourfold hallucination set,²
 As village lout didst drive me, O my heart!³
 Come now and follow him, the Merciful,
 Great Seer for whom all bonds and chains are
 broke (1143)

Like creature of the wild roaming at large
 In the fair flowering jungle, so thou too
 Hast gone up on the lovely cloud-wreathed crest
 There on the mountain, where no crowd can come,
 Shalt find thy joy, O heart, for never doubt
 But thou shalt surely win to the Beyond⁴ (1144)

They who remain subservient to thy will,
 Male or female, enjoy what thou dost give,
 Delight in ever coming back to be —
 Unknowing, in the wake of Maia's power,
 These all, O heart, retainers are of thee⁵ (1145)

¹ *Pathé* is paraphrased by *vipassanā* with joy.

² *I.e.*, holding the impermanent as permanent, and the ugly (*asubhan*), the painful, the soulless as beautiful pleasant, and having a soul respectively. The last illusion in the Br MS Comy is either worded unusually—*attoni otta ti* ('in one's 'self' a 'soul'), or the scribe has omitted the *an* from *anattani* ('in the soul less a soul').

³ *Gaman-lalay*. The Commentary first reads *gamaṇḍalay*, then, in commenting *gamaṇḍalay*, but explains this to mean *gāmandarāḥay*—'my good heart, thou draggest (*parikkaddhaṇi*) me around hither and thither as if I were a (stupid) village lad.' Dr Neumann reads *ar-gā, yv*.

⁴ Lit. 'Thou shalt beyond become look down upon or become superior to.' Commentary 'Thou shalt stand firm by the ruin of (thy) *sagāra*'.

⁵ The last verse, as well as 1143 would fit better if placed a little further back in the poem.

CANTO XX

POEM OF SIXTY VERSES

CCLXIII

Moggallana the Great

His story is told in that of the venerable Śariputta¹ After he had been ordained a week, and while he was occupied with his duties near the hamlet of Kallavala² in Magadha, torpor and sleepiness assailed him, so that the Master aroused him with the words 'Moggallana, idleness is not the same as Ariyan silence' Conquering his weakness by merely hearing an exercise on Elements given him by the Master, he attained the highest insight that a Buddha's disciple can reach At another time the Master, in conclave at the Jeta Grove pronounced him foremost in supernatural power of will (*iddhi*) And the verses which he spoke while thus gifted were collected in a series by the compilers of the Doctrine at the time of the Council

1

When exhorting the bhikkhus

We forest-dwellers, beggars all,
Pleased with the scraps placed in our bowl
The hosts of Mara we can smash²
If we have well learned self control (1146)

¹ See CCLIX.

² See *Ang. Nāḥ* 1. 23. On **Idhi** see *Compendium* in 60 f.

³ On the Optative in *c* in *cf* E. Müller's *Pali Grammar* p. 169

We forest-dwellers, beggars all
 Pleased with the scraps by which we're fed
 Mara and hosts let's sweep away
 As elephant a rush built shed ¹ (1147)
 We who at root of shady tree
 Work at our task persistently
 Pleased with the scraps placed in our bowl
 The hosts of Mara we can smite
 If we have well learned self control (1148)
 We who at root of shady tree
 Work at our task persistently
 Pleased with the scraps by which we're fed
 Mara and hosts let's sweep away
 As elephant a rush built shed (1149)

II

To a courtesan who sought to allure him ²

Thou with that little hut of fine new work bony
 And flesh encased by snowy stitchery —
 Fie on thee fie! thou full of smells unseemly
 Finding thyself in limbs that are not 'thou' ³ (1150)
 O bag of muck enwrapped in skin! O witch
 With ulcered breast! mine are the stains
 That on thy body tuckie night and day (1151)
 Thy body mine streamed and maledorous
 Maker of bonds ⁴—that let a bhikkhu shun
 As one would ordure would be fain be clean (1152)

¹ Cf. verse 206 *Saṃj. Aṅk.* 1. 156

² According to *Sisters* p. 52 this was Vimalā of Vesālī notorious. She became a lay adherent then a bhikkhuni eventually an arāhant.

³ *Paragallā*. On *para* other see *Sisters* verse 101 n. 3 *parato* *disv*. Cf. *Majj.* i. 435 *Ing.* iv. 422. The Cy adds *gattabhā te kaḷeṭṭare mamattāyā karosī* 'thou makest mineness with regard to the belimed carcass'. Apparently there is no reference to another's limbs.

⁴ The Commentary reads *kariyāribhāṇāy* but on its face the *kari* from its analysis *saṃ paṭipatti parā bhikkhū* tag.

Did but folk know thee as thou art, as I
Do know thee, they would shun thee from afar
As they would shun a cesspool in the ruins (1153)

Then that woman felt ashamed and bowed before the
Thera saying

Yea O great hero, even so it is
As thou, O holy friar, hast pronounced
And herein many miserably fail
And faint, as in a swamp an aged ox (1154)

The Thera

He who would fancy he can paint the sky
With yellow, or maybe some other hue,
Is to defeat foredoomed and only that (1155)
My heart is like that sky, beyond thy reach
For it is well controlled within and calm¹
Wherefore bring not thine evil thoughts to me,
As bird that flies bewildered into flame (1156)

Behold tho trucked out puppet shape, a mass
Of sores a congeries diseased, teeming
With many purposes and plans and yet
In whom there is no power to persist² (1157)

III

Concerning the passing away of Sariputta Thera³

O! then was terror, then was mighty dread,
Then stiffened han and quivered creeping nerve,
When he, endowed with every crowning grace⁴
The venerable Sariputta passed away (1158)

¹ — verbatim the last line of verse 1146 Cf *Majj* i 127

² Cf verses 709 1020

³ Cf verses 1046

⁴ The Commentary instances 'virtuous conduct self control' etc

O transient are our life's experiences!
 Their nature 'tis to rise and pass away.
 They happen in our ken, they cease to be.
 O well for us when they are sunk to rest!¹ (1159)

They who our fivefold organism see
 As something 'other,' not the self, not soul,²
 They penetrate the delicate things [of truth]
 As arrow-point doth pierce a tip of hair. (1160)
 They who behold our life's experience
 As something 'other,' not the self, not soul,
 They've pierced the subtle [mysteries of truth]
 As arrow-point doth pierce a tip of hair. (1161)

IV

Spoken concerning Tissa Thera.³

As one down-smitten by impending sword,
 As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
 So let the brother, mindful and alert,
 Go forth, all worldly passions left behind (1162)

Spoken concerning Vaddhamāna Thera:

As one down-smitten by impending sword,
 As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
 So let the brother, mindful and alert,
 Go forth, all lust of living left behind. (1163)

¹ The Commentary gives these lines in full. They amount to a proverb for Buddhists, and familiarity with them is probably the reason why, though they occur but this once in these poems, the manuscripts used by the editor of this text give only the first line, with 'etc' added. See *Dialogues*, ii 175, 176, n 1, 191. Dhammapala makes no comment. I prefer to treat *sankhara* as phenomena *subjectively* considered (experiences), things as *known* and *felt*; in Buddhist phrase, *sankhārā* of deed, word, and thought. Cf. verses 1175, 1180, n 3.

² *Tattha paṇḍita ā anattatā, tassa attagūḍha-paṭikkhapa-dammanā* *Netay, ten'āha no ca attato ti* (Commentary). (No license is given for anything so revolutionary as to call the five classes of sensations five *khandhas*. Cf. Neumann.)

³ Verse ascribed to the Buddha, addressing TISSA, XXXIX, and Vaddhamāna, XL.

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 Go forth, all lust of living left behind. (1163)

¹ The Commentary gives these lines in full. They amount to a proverb for Buddhists, and familiarity with them is probably the reason why, though they occur but this once in these poems, the manuscripts used by the editor of this text give only the first line, with 'etc.' added. See *Dialogues*, II 175; 176, n 1, 191. Dhammapāla makes no comment. I prefer to treat *sankhāra* as phenomena *subjectively* considered (experiences), things *as known and felt*, in Buddhist phrase, *sankhārā* of deed, word, and thought. Cf. verses 1175, 1180, n 3.

² *Tattha parato ti anattato, tassa attagāha-patikkhepa-dassanay k'etay, ten'ūha no ca attato ti* (Commentary). (No license is given for anything so revolutionary as to call the five classes of sensations five *khandhas*. Cf. Neumann.)

³ Verse ascribed to the Buddha, addressing Tissa, XXXIX., and Vaddhamāna, XL.

Did but folk know thee as thou art, as I
Do know thee, they would shun thee from afar
As they would shun a cesspool in the ruins (1153)

Then that woman felt ashamed and bowed before the
Thera saying :

Yea, O great hero, even so it is
As thou, O holy friar, hast pronounced
And herein many miserably fail
And faint, as in a swamp an aged ox. (1154)

The Thera :

He who would fancy he can paint the sky
With yellow, or may be some other hue,
Is to defeat foredoomed, and only that. (1155)
My heart is like that sky, beyond thy reach,
For it is well controlled within and calm¹
Wherefore bring not thine evil thoughts to me,
As bird that flies bewildered into flame (1156)

Behold the tricked-out puppet-shape, a mass
Of sores, a congeries diseased, teeming
With many purposes and plans, and yet
In whom there is no power to persist.² (1157)

III

Concerning the passing away of Sāriputta Thera³

O! then was terror, then was mighty dread,
Then stiffened hair and quivered creeping nerve,
When he, endowed with every crowning grace,⁴
The venerable Sāriputta passed away. (1158)

¹ = verbatim, the last line of verse 1146 Cf *Mogh*, i 127

² Cf verses 769, 1020

³ Cf verse 1046

⁴ The Commentary instances 'virtuous conduct, self control,' etc

O transient are our life's experiences!
 Their nature tis to rise and pass away
 They happen in our ken, they cease to be
 O well for us when they are sunk to rest" (1159)

They who our fivefold organism see
 As something 'other, not the self, not soul,²
 They penetrate the delicate things [of truth]
 As arrow point doth pierce a tip of hair (1160)
 They who behold our life's experience
 As something 'other, not the self, not soul
 They've pierced the subtle [mysteries of truth]
 As arrow point doth pierce a tip of hair (1161)

IV

Spoken concerning Tissa Thera ³

As one down smitten by impending sword,
 As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
 So let the brother mindful and alert,
 Go forth all worldly passions left behind (1162)

Spoken concerning Vaddhamana Thera

As one down smitten by impending sword
 As one whose hair and turban are aflame
 So let the brother, mindful and alert,
 Go forth all lust of living left behind (1163)

¹ The Commentary gives these lines in full. They amount to a proverb for Buddhists and familiarity with them is probably the reason why, though they occur but this once in these poems the manuscripts used by the editor of this text give only the first line with 'etc' added. See *Dialogues* n 175 176 n 1 194. Dhammapala makes no comment. I prefer to treat *sankharas* as phenomena *subjectively* considered (experiences) things as *known* and *felt* in Buddhist phrase *sankhara* of deed, word and thought. Cf verses 1175 1180 n 3.

² *Tattha parato ti anattato tassa attagila patikkhepa dassanay hetay, ten uha no ca attato ti* (Commentary). (No license is given for anything so revolutionary as to call the five classes of sensations five khandhas. Cf Neumann.)

³ Verse ascribed to the Buddha addressing Tissa XXXIX and Vaddhamana XL.

V.

Spoken in connection with the 'Act of the Terrace'
Dialogue:¹

By Him advised, who, perfectly evolved,²
For the last time a mortal body bore,
My foot uplifting with my toe I shook
The Terrace by Migāra's Mother built. (1164)

VI.

Spoken concerning a certain bhikkhu³

Nothing hath *this* to do with tepid slackness,
Not by a little toil canst gain Nibbāna,
Deliverance from every tie and chain. (1165)
See this young brother, this among you peerless⁴
Mara and all his host hath he defeated,
And [therefore] weareth he his final frame (1166)

VII

Concerning his own detached life :

The lightnings flash e'en in the rocky cave,
Smiting Vebhāra's crest and Paṇḍava,
And in the mountain-bosom hid, a child
Of the incomparable Master sits,
Ardent in contemplative ecstasy.⁴ (1167)

¹ 'Pāsāḍakamma Suttanta' See *Majjh Nik.*, i 837. The Dialogue is, in the *Majjhima*, named the 'Māra tajanīya Sutta[nta]' (spurning of Māra)—another difference of title that is not without interest. The toe-feat is only alluded to in the verses appended to the Suttanta. Migāra's mother = Vāsābhā, mother also of Tera Uggaṇṇa. CCLXVII. Dh'pada Cy. i, p. 384 f

² *Bhūṭatattva*, lit., by him who had the state of being developed or practised—i. e., who had finished the entire course of developing body and mind—namely, the Buddha

³ Two bhikkhus are apparently contrasted; but the Commentary mentions only the one first referred to, as being 'slack and sensuous,' and not the second one ⁴ = verse 41, *Sarvadatta's* psalm

VIII

Entering Rajagaha for alms, he admonishes a nephew of Sāriputta Thera, a brahmin of wrong opinions, who on seeing Kassapa the Great felt repugnance, as if he had seen the goddess of ill luck herself

The serene calm and serene, dead to the world
Whose dwelling is remote, aloof from men,¹
The heir of Buddha, Wake and Chief of all,
Greeted with honour by great Brahmins as self (1168)
Behold him, calm, serene, dead to the world,
The sage who dwells remote, aloof from men,
The heir of Buddha, Wake and Chief of all —
Brahmin, give greeting low to KASSAPA! (1169)
He who a hundred generations back
Can trace descent, all brahmin ancestors,
Himself as graduate and Veda wise,
Again, again among mankind reborn, (1170)
Though he as teacher in the Vedas three
Past-master rank, wouldst honour him for
that
To him thy homage were not worth a straw (1171)

He who before he breaks his fast can touch
Mental emancipation's eight degrees,
In grade ascending and so back again —²
Then, only, cometh forth to seek for nims — (1172)
Assault³ thou not a bhikkhu such as this
Refrain from digging up thyself, [thy good]⁴
Appease, brahmin and gratify thy mind
In [contemplating] such an arhant

¹ Cf. Kassapa Thera's characteristics CCLXI, 1057 ff

² Dialogues II 119 'Touch, ap(h)assaya = samapajja

³ Ahar' paraphrased by *siddeti Vinaya Texts*, II 373, Udin la text), 100

⁴ So the Commentary

Swiftly lift up thy hands and greeting give.
Set not that head of thine in jeopardy.¹ (1173)

IX

When admonishing a bhikkhu named Potṭhila.

He doth not yet behold the blessed Norm
Who hath eternal living in his train;
From course precinct he wandereth afar,
Straying in error's devious dangerous ways. (1174)
Like to a worm obscene besmeared with dung,
He walloweth in the tainted things of life,²
Plunged in pursuit of favours and of gain,
Bare [of true profit] goeth Potṭhila. (1175)

X

In praise of the venerable Sariputta.

Yonder behold where SĀRIPUTTA goes
So nobly fair! Emancipated he
By contemplation rapt, and purity,³
And all his inner self is well composed. (1176)
Exempt from moral scathe, all fetters broke,
In higher Vedas versed, slayer of Death,
Worthy that men should bring him offerings;
Incomparable field for great reward.⁴ (1177)

¹ Lat., let not your coiffure be undone! (ironically spoken) On the risk, see *Dialogues*, i 116 The brahmin is stated to have begged forgiveness for his want of courtesy.

² *Sanhāra*. Potṭhila is the subject of *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii 417 ff., on verse 282.

³ Mogallāna speaks to himself (*Commentary*)

⁴ See *Dialogues*, ii 70. Lit., 'freed on both sides'

⁵ A favourite metaphor for the Order generally. Merit accrues to pious supporters, as a harvest from seed. Cf (1087)

XI

Spoken by the venerable Sāriputta in praise of Moggallāna the Great Thera.

See how they stand, those thronging deities¹
Of mystic potency and glorious,
Ten times a thousand, Brahmā's ministers,
Acclaiming MOGGALLĀNA reverently:— (1178)
'Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat!
Glory to thee, thou highest among men'
Perished for thee are the intoxicants,
And thou, O lord, most worthy art of gifts! (1179)
In honour held by men and gods alike,²
Uprisen as the conqueror of death,
As lotus from the water takes no smear,
So thou in changing world dost not adhere.³ (1180)

He who e'en in a moment by a thousand ways can take
Purview of all the world,⁴ as were he Brahmā's very
self⁵

Yea, hero's a brother veiled in power of magic⁶ who
doth see

What time doth suit [for gods and men] to die and
come to be⁷ (1181)

¹ Cf 1082, also 629

² The Commentary suggests, as an alternative reading, 'by the man god, the Exalted One, who is uprisen,' etc

³ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 547 *Sanhkaragata*, born amid phenomena, he adheres not to the shme of craving and error, *na upalimpati* (sic) *katthici pi, anissito ti attho* (Commentary). Cf the slight metrical irregularity in *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 812, where *sankhāra's* are detailed as *ditthasutana mutesa*.

⁴ The world of space (Commentary)

⁵ Here (cf n to verse 629) *sa-Brahmahappo* is explained as *Maha Brahma sadiso*

⁶ On *uddhi*, cf *Compendium*, p 71, with *Dialogues*, i 87 f

⁷ Here the Commentary makes no effort to associate *devatā*, deity spirit, angel, with a particular being, as in Anuruddha's poem, verse 911 This leaves the use of *devatā* a little unusual. Moggallāna's vision is as that of a deity—'a devatā is that bhikkhu'

VII.

Moggallāna the Great speaks, affirming his own gifts -

Now Sari's son by wi-dom, virtue, self-control
Excelleth all; here let this brother stand
supreme. (1182)

But I can instantly innumerable times
Create a living shape; skilled to transform
myself

As other, yea, all magic power have I at will.¹ (1183)
He of the Moggallānas, in the Rule of Him
Who stands alone,² hath perfected his powers;³
In contemplative ecstasy and higher lore
Expert, valiant and self-controlled hath burst his
bonds,

As doth the elephant a rotten fibre rope.⁴ (1184)

The Master hath my fealty and love,⁵
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore;
Cause for rebirth is foned in me no more. (1185)
The Good for which I bade the world farewell,⁶
And left the home to dwell where is no home.
That highest good have I attained and won,
And all that bound and fettered me is gone. (1186)

¹ See n 6, p 389

² *Asiṭṭassa, tanhānissayūdi rakhiṭṭassa* (Cy)

³ *Jātaka* 3 (text) 17¹⁰

⁴ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 29 In Suttanta 141 of the *Majjh Nik.* these great 'twin brethren' are thus characterized by their Master
'Sāriputta is he who brings forth, Moggallāna is he the name of
what is brought forth The former trains for the fruit of the first
Path, the latter for that of the highest The former is able to teach
and make plain the four Aryan truths'

⁵ = 604, 656, 687, 792, 891, 918, 1016, 1088, 1070

⁶ = 186 380, 605

XIII.

In reproof of Māra who, had entered and then left the
Theia's bowels :¹

What sort of hell was it where Dussī cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too² (1187)
'Twas the infernal realm of iron spikes,
A hundred points, each dealing bitter pain.
This sort of hell it was where Dussī cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too (1188)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted sprite! to misery thou must
go.² (1189)

Far in the midst of ocean, palaces
Have stood an æon, exquisite, with hue
Of beryl-stones, flushing like crests of flame
There dance full many nymphs in dainty
hues:— (1190)

If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted sprite! to misery thou must
go (1191)

Incited by the Buddha's self I wrought,
With all the Bhikkhu-Order looking on,

¹ Told in *Majjh Nik*, i, 50th Sutta. Cf. verse 1164. Dussī, a name for Māra in a previous life. Kakusandha, Buddha next but two before Gotama. Vidhura (or Vidhura, cf. Oldenberg's ed. in loco; Br. Cy. Vidura), one of his two chief disciples. The hell of the spikes was one of the many purgatories. The Commentary, for a description of it, refers to the *Devaduta Sutta* (*Ang. Nik*, i 138 ff.) On the fiend's singular retreat, cf. *Uppalavannā's* poem, *Sisters*, p. 114.

² = verse 25.

XII.

Moggallāna the Great speaks, affirming his own gifts :

Now Saṁ's son by wisdom, virtue, self-control
Excelleth all; here let this brother stand
supreme. (1182)

But I can instantly innumerable times
Create a living shape; skilled to transform
myself

As other, yea, all magic power have I at will.¹ (1183)
He of the Moggallānas, in the Rule of Him
Who stands alone,² hath perfected his powers;³
In contemplative ecstasy and higher lore
Expert, valiant and self-controlled hath burst his
bonds,

As doth the elephant a rotten fibre rope.⁴ (1184)

The Master hath my fealty and love,⁵
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore;
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (1185)
The Good for which I bade the world farewell,⁶
And left the home to dwell where is no home.
That highest good have I attained and won,
And all that bound and fettered me is gone. (1186)

¹ See n 6, p 389

² *Asatassa, lavhanissāyedi rahitassa.* (Cy)

³ *Jāṭaka* 1 (text) 17⁵⁹

⁴ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 29. In Suttanta 141 of the *Majjh. Nik.* these great 'twin brethren' are thus characterized by their Master :
'*Evampiṭṭha* is as the who brings forth, *Moggallāna* is as the owner of what is brought forth. The former trains for the fruit of the first Path, the latter for that of the highest. The former is able to teach and make plain the four Aryan truths.'

⁵ = 604, 656, 687, 792, 891, 916, 1016, 1088, 1070

⁶ = 136, 380, 605

XIII

In reproof of Māra who, had entered and then left the
Theia's bowels ¹

What sort of hell was it where Dussi cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too? (1187)
'Twas the infernal realm of iron spikes,
A hundred points, each dealing bitter pain
This sort of hell it was where Dussi cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too (1188)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted sprito! to misery thou must
go ² (1189)

Fair in the midst of ocean, palaces
Have stood an aeon, exquisite, with hue
Of beryl stones, flashing like crests of flame
There dance full many nymphs in divers
hues:— (1190)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted sprito! to misery thou must
go (1191)

Incited by the Buddha's self I wrought
With all the Bhikkhu-Order looking on,

¹ Told in *Vajjh Nik*, i, 50th Sutta. Cf. verse 1164. Dussi, a name for Māra in a previous life. Kakusandha, Buddha next but two before Gotama. Vidhura (or Vidhura, cf. Oldenberg's ed. *in loco*, Br. Cy. Vidura), one of his two chief disciples. The hell of the spikes was one of the many purgatories. The Commentary, for a description of it, refers to the Devaduta Sutta (*Ang Nik*, i, 138 ff.) On the fiend's singular retreat, cf. Uppalavannā's poem, *Sistera*, p. 114.

² = verse 25.

VII.

Moggallāna the Great speaks, affirming his own gifts -

Now Sati's son by wisdom, virtue, self-control
Excelleth all; here let this brother stand
supreme. (1182)

But I can instantly innumerable times
Create a living shape; skilled to transform
myself

As other, yea, all magic power have I at will¹ (1183)
He of the Moggallānas, in the Rule of Him
Who stands alone,² hath perfected his powers;³
In contemplative ecstasy and higher lore
Expert, valiant and self-controlled hath burst his
bonds,

As doth the elephant a rotten fibre rope.⁴ (1184)

The Master hath my fealty and love,⁵
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore;
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (1185)
The Good for which I bade the world farewell,⁶
And left the home to dwell where is no home.
That highest good have I attained and won,
And all that bound and fettered me is gone (1186)

¹ See n 6, p 389 ² *Asitassa, lankhānassāyādi rakitassa* (Cj)

³ *Jataka* 1 (text) 17⁸⁹

⁴ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 29. In Suttanta 141 of the *Majjh Nik.* these great 'twin brethren' are thus characterized by their Master.

⁵ *Sāmaṇassa* is he who brings forth, *Moggallāna* is he who wins of what is brought forth. The former trains for the fruit of the first Path, the latter for that of the highest. The former is able to teach and make plain the four Arryan truths.

⁶ = 604, 656, 687, 792, 891, 918, 1016, 1068, 1070

⁷ = 178, 380, 605

XIII.

In reproof of Māra who, had entered and then left the
Thera's bowels :¹

What sort of hell was it where Dussi cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too? (1187)
'Twas the infernal realm of iron spikes,
A hundred points, each dealing bitter pain.
This sort of hell it was where Dussi cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too (1188)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted spite! to misery thou must
go.² (1189)

Far in the midst of ocean, palaces
Have stood an æon, exquisite, with hue
Of beryl-stones, flashing like crests of flame.
There dance full many nymphs in divers
hues:— (1190)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted spite! to misery thou must
go. (1191)

Incited by the Buddha's self I wrought,
With all the Bhikkhu Order looking on,

¹ Told in *Vajjh. Nīl.*, i, 50th Sutta. Cf. verse 1164. Dussi, a name for Māra in a previous life. Kakusandha, Buddha next but two before Gotama. Vidhura (or Vidhura, cf. Oldenberg's ed. *in loco*: Br. Cy. Vidura), one of his two chief disciples. The hell of the spikes was one of the many purgatories. The Commentary, for a description of it, refers to the Devaduta-Sutta (*Ang. Nīl.*, i 128 ff.) On the fiend's singular retreat, cf. Uppalavannā's poem, *Sisters*, p. 114.

² = verse 25.

Avoid thee, Mara, from the awakened mind !¹
 Against the brethren cease thy wicked plots. (1207)

Thus in the forest of Bhesakala² .
 Did Māra by a Brother censured stand
 Threat the rated inn, dejected sore,
 E'en where he stood, did vanish quite away. (1208)

*Thus verily did the venerable Moggallāna the Great utter
 his verses* -

¹ *Buddhamhā* (abl), applied to a disciple , ² Cf verse 18

CANTO XXI

POEM OF SEVENTY ONE VERSES, CALLED ALSO 'THE
GREAT NIPĀTA'

CCLXIV

Vangīsa.

REBORN in the Buddha-age at Sāvattthi, in a brahmin family, he was named Vangīsa, and was taught the three Vedas. And he won favour as a teacher by tapping on skulls with his finger-nail, and discovering thereby where their former occupants were reborn.¹ The brahmins saw in this a means of gain, and taking Vangīsa toured about in villages, townships and royal residences. And for three years Vangīsa had skulls brought to him and divined. Persuading the people to believe in him, he won fees of 100 and even 1000 (? *lakāpanas*). And the brahmins took him about wherever they chose to go. Now he heard of the Master's virtues, and wished to visit him, but the brahmins objected, saying: 'Gotama the recluse will pervert you by his craftiness.'² But Vangīsa heeded them not and went, seating himself at one side. The Master seeing him asked: 'Vangīsa, do you know any art or craft?' 'Yes, Master Gotama, I know the skull-spell. By that, tapping

¹ The same story is told of Migasira, also a brahmin of Kosala (CLI), and is probably another bifurcated legend. In the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, the 8th Book is entirely devoted to such of Vangīsa's improvisations as are contained in the following *xii* sections, together with prose episodes followed, in outline only, by our Commentary. The remaining verses (1263-78) are contained in the Sutta Nipāta (verses 348-58), as are also verses (1227) (1230).

² An allegation frequently made by rival teachers. Cf. *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 375, *Saṃy. Nik.*, iv. 341.

on a skull with my finger nail, have I, for three years past ascertained where rebirth has taken place' The Master let him be shown the skulls of individuals reborn in purgatory, as man, as god, and of one who had passed utterly away. Divining concerning all but the last, of that he could make nothing. Then the Master 'Art not able Vangisa? 'Let me make quite sure,' said Vangisa, and he turned it round again and again till the sweat stood on his brow—for how will he know the going of the arahant? And he stood there silent and shamed. 'Art tired, Vangisa? 'Ay, Master Gotama, I cannot find out where this one has been reborn. If you know, tell it. 'Vangisa, both this I know, and I know more than this

*He who of every creature knoweth well
Whence they de cease and where they come to be,
I enlightened, well come, freed from every tie —
Him call I brahmin
Whose destiny nor angel, god, nor man
Doth know, the arahant sane and immune —
Him call I brahmin '.*

Then said Vangisa. 'Well then, Master Gotama, give me this hidden lore' And doing obeisance, he seated himself as the Master's pupil. But the Master said. 'Let us give you the marks of a recluse. Then Vangisa thought. 'I must at all costs learn this spell. And he said to his fellow brahmins. 'Do not think it amiss if I take orders. When I have learned this spell, I shall be first in all India, and that will bring you good fortune.' So he asked for ordination and the Exalted One commanded Nigrodhakappa Thera, who stood near, to ordain Vangisa. The Thera did so, and then saying. 'You must first learn the accessories of the spell' gave him the exercise of the thirty two constituents of the body,² and one on insight. Rehearsing the former, he established the latter faculty. And when brahmins came to ask whether he had acquired

¹ *Sutta Nipata* verses 613-614

² See *Ki u dāka pīṭa*

the art, he replied: 'What art-acquiring? Go ye hence; I have no more to do with you.' The brahmins said: 'There' he too has got into the power of Gotama the recluse, perverted by craftiness. What have we to do with you as teacher?' And they went away. But Vangīsa realized arahantship.

As arahant, he went to the Master's presence and magnified him in scores of verses, comparing him to the moon, the sun, space, ocean, mountains, the lion, the elephant. Him the Master, seated in concave, pronounced foremost in facility of speech.¹ But what he said in verse, both before and after he became arahant, was collected and recorded by Ānanda and the other Theras at the Council as follows

1

Spoken when a novice, after having been affected by the sight of many gorgeously dressed women, who had approached the Vihāra, a feeling which he suppressed.²

Alas! that now when I am gone from home
Into the homeless life, these graceless thoughts
Sprung from the Dark should flit about my
mind.³ (1209)

Were highborn warriors, mighty archers, trained
In champion bow-craft, such as never flee,
To scatter thousand arrows round about . . . (1210)
But women! Well, far more than those may come,
Yet shall they never wreck my peace of mind,
Firmly established in the truths I stand.⁴ (1211)

¹ *Ang Nik*, i 24

² *Saṃy Nik*, i 185 f. Vangīsa is there called the custodian or porter of the Vihāra, and the women were come to see it.

³ *Kāḷato lamakabhūvato* (Cy). *Murapakkhato Saṃy Cy*

⁴ This difficult passage is thus interpreted by the Commentary, with this explanation: 'A man taking a staff' (why not a shield?) 'can beat down a series of arrows, but every woman shoots five at once (assailing each sense), and is therefore more dangerous.' 'Truths' (*dhammesu*) mean doctrine generally, but especially the thirty-seven *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*. Cf. *Compendium*, p 179 f.

For even in his presence¹ have I heard
 The Buddha of the Suna high lineage tell²
 About the Path that to Nibbana goes
 And there the love of all my heart is given (1212)
 Now that I alway in such mood abide
 Dost think vile one thou canst draw nigh to me³
 Then will I do the like O Death and thou
 Wilt ne'er discover which the way I take⁴ (1213)

II

Spoken when suppressing his own feelings aversion
 and so forth

I who have given up dislikes and dotings
 In all that stirs the lay imagination
 May not make anywhere a haunt for lusting
 He who from jingly vice⁵ hath gained the open
 From lusting free tis he is truly Bhikkhu (1214)
 All things of visible shape here on earth dwelling
 Or in the upper air that's based on earth⁶
 Transient is all and all away is wearing —
 Thus understanding they who think do walk⁷ (1215)
 In all that makes for life⁸ the folk cleave ever⁹
 To what is seen and heard and touched⁹ and
 thought

¹ Sa hi (Commentary)

² Cf XXVL

³ Cf Sisters Uppalavanni and Mara verse 931 f

⁴ On the jungle or forest as symbolical of lust or craving cf Sisters
 Valsidha's Mother verse 208

⁵ According to the Commentary *vesu say = lavalokanus lay jagato*
gadhaṃ loḥ kaṃ

⁶ Read *ng mutanti* part 2 (Commentary)

⁷ Upadāsa or substrates. The Commentary names only the five
 khandhas but elsewhere three other categories are named (*Dhamma*
pada verse 418 SBE I p 94) — *kāma* (sensual desires) *kilesa*
 (vices = cf p 73 n 1) and *kaṇṭha*

⁸ *Gadhi* see Commentary *pa bandhacitt*

⁹ *Paṭighe* Commentary *glattan je plottābbe* (things to be
 struck touched). It is of interest that Dharmapala quotes the
Sarathapāṭi is *ni* (Sajjita Commentary by B. Mahagosa) *Sarathapāṭi*
ni jay paṭigāṭāna gandharas galhi etc

He weepeth not at any time the Brother
 Path victor who the Highest hath achieved
 Both fame and happy conscience¹ he enjoyeth
 Norm² say, and rightly say the wise (1221)
 Hence in this life sober and unimpeded
 Dispelled all hundering clouds and clear in mind
 Renouncing pride and vain conceits entirely
 Let me be found I find maker and serene³ (1222)

IV

One day as a novice he attended the venerable Ananda
 whom one of the King's ministers had bid den to visit him
 There they were surrounded by women highly adorned
 who saluting the Thera and asking questions heard him
 preach the Norm But Vangisa was excited and moved with
 desire Then he being a well bred man of faith and
 integrity, thought "This my emotion growing is unsuitable
 for my present and future good And seated as he was
 he confessed his state to the Thera saying

My sense with passion burns my mind's allured
 Take thou compassion on me Gotamid⁴
 O tell me truly of a putting out" (1223)

And the venerable Ananda replied

Because thy judgment is upset perverse
 Therefore thy mind is allured Thou shouldst
 never⁵
 The seemingly self objects pass as linked (1224)

VI.

Spoken in praise of Sāriputta :

With insight into mysteries deep,
 And richly dowered with learned lore,
 Expert in paths both true and false,
 The son of Sāri, greatly wise,
 Teacheth the bhikkhus in the Norm. (1231)
 He teaches first in outline brief,
 And then expounds in full detail.
 And like the myna-bird's sweet song,¹
 His exposition poureth forth. (1232)
 And while he teaches, they who hear
 His honeyed speech, in tones they love
 Of voice enchanting, musical,
 With ravished ears, transported hearts,
 Delighted list his every word. (1233)

VII.

*Spoken after the Exalted One had discoursed in the
 Pavāraṇā (Valediction or Dismissal) Suttanta.**²

To-day, at full moon, for full purity
 Five hundred brethren are together come.
 They all have cut their fetters and their bonds;
 Seers who are free from rebirth and from ill. (1234)
 And as a king who ruleth all the world,
 Surrounded by his councillors of state,
 Toureth around his empire everywhere,
 Driving throughout the lands that end in
 sea, (1235)

¹ *Sālikā*, lit., 'rice kin,' just as we say 'siskin.'

² A meeting terminating the rainy season, when confession was invited. See *Vinaya Texts*, I. 323 ff. The Master (in the Suttanta, *Samy. Nik.*, I. 189) invites complaints against himself, and Sāriputta, on behalf of the others, gives him a clean bill, then receives the same himself.

And one of these, from meditation come,
 Full fain his gracious Master to behold—
 Thy true disciple, mighty Hero, see!
 Low at thy feet Vangīsa worships thee. (1211)

Then¹ the Exalted One asked: 'How now, Vangīsa, have you composed these verses beforehand, or did they occur to you just on the present occasion?' 'They occurred to me just now,' replied Vangīsa. ['Well then, let some more such verses occur to you'] 'Even so, lord'—and Vangīsa spoke further his praises:]

O'er Māra's devious ways he fares triumphant,
 And every obstacle he breaketh down;
 Behold him from all bondage our Deliverer;
 Himself full fraught, he portions out the
 Norm.² (1212)

For he hath shown a Way by many methods
 For cross-ing o'er the [fearsome fourfold] Flood,³
 And we to whom he hath declared Ambrosia,⁴
 Stand as Norm-seers inexpugnable (1213)
 Light-bringer, he hath pierced beyond, beholding
 Past all those stations where the mind doth halt⁵
 The topmost heights knowing and realizing,
 To us he maketh known the path of sight.⁶ (1214)

¹ The Commentary quotes only the question and answer. The rest I take from the *Saṃy Nā* Dhammapāla only adds that the Master wished to show Vangīsa's gift to the brethren.

² One might render this clause—*asīḍaṃ va bhūgaṇṇaṃ paribhayaṃ* [u]—as Dr Neumann does, by 'as a sickle having divided off by sections' (or sheaves), but (1) I hesitate to liken the Saviour of the Buddhists, for them, to a sickle; (2) both Commentaries agree that *asīḍaṃ* is, as in other gāthās, e.g. (1184), *antasīḍaṃ* (independent, himself needing nothing). I have taken *asīḍa* as meaning *dhātā* (cf. *Jātaka Commentary*, vol II, p. 217, text, *opposed to dhātā*, lacking). The main emphasis is on the Teacher's passing on to others what he has gained.

³ Cf. XV, n. 2

⁴ I.e., that ambrosia being declared.

⁵ Both Com. have *ditthātthānāy viññanātthānāy* i.e.

⁶ Both Commentaries reject *dasatthānāy*, reading *dasaddhānāy*, and refer to the First Sermon delivered to the five recluses as the recipients of the *aggāy dhammā*, neither explaining the term.

Lo! now in truths so well revealed, for trifling
What place is there 'mong them who learn his
Lore?

Hence zealously within that Master's System
Let each man train, and while he trains
adore (1215)

IX.

Spoken in praise of the venerable *Thera Añña-Kondañña* ¹

Who next to our Great Waked One was awake,
Brother Kondañña, strong in energy,
Who oft enjoyeth hours of blissful ease—
[The harvest] of complete detachment won—² (1216)
All that the Master's follower can win,
If he fulfil the training of the Rule—
All this Kondañña step by step hath won
By study strenuous and diligent. (1217)
Sublime in power and versed in triple lore,
Expert the thoughts of others to descry,³
Kondañña of the Buddha rightful heir,
Low at the Master's feet behold him lie. (1218)

Spoken in praise of the venerable Moggallāna the Great,
before the Exalted One, when the former discerned that
the hearts of the 500 arahants, gathered together at Black
Rock on Rushis' Hill at Rājagaha, were emancipated and
free from the conditions for rebirth ⁴

High on the hilly slopes disciples wait,
Holding the triple lore, slayers of Death,

¹ *Samy Nik*, i 193 Cf CCXLVI.

² *Vicchanay*, of the detachments—namely, three of body, of mind,
and that involved in Nibbāna.

³ *Samy Nik*, i 194

Upon the pleasure of the seated Saint,
 Who hath transcended all the power of ill (1249)
 And MOGGALLANA great in mystic power
 Doth scrutinize in thought the hearts of all
 And thus examining he finds them freed,
 And having nought wherewith to be reborn ¹ (1250)
 So do they wait upon that perfect Saint,
 Who hath transcended all the power of ill,
 And perfected on every hand his work—
 So wait upon and honour GOTAMA (1251)

VI

Spoken in praise of the Exalted One, luminous by his
 own beauty and glory, when surrounded by the Order and
 the laity at the Gaggarā Lotus lake, at Campā ²

As when the obscuring clouds have drifted from
 the sky,
 The moon shines splendid even as a sun,
 So thou, Angīrasa, ³ most mighty Seer,
 Dost with thy glory all the world illumine (1252)

VII

Spoken when reflecting as a now made arhant on his
 experiences and on the Master

Drunk with divining art, ⁴ of old we roamed
 From town and village on to town again
 Then we beheld the All Enlightened, Him
 Who hath transcended all that we can know (1253)

¹ *Nir-upaṣṭi*. See verse 1216 n

² Cf p 32, n 2 134 275 See also *Diyaḥya* i 141

³ Cf verse 536 n

⁴ *Kaccayamati*. Wrongly translated by me else where. Without the Commentary I had imagined Vangisa as having been a troubadour or minstrel like Tilaputa (CCLXII). Imagination and a rhetorical facility he had but one need not substitute a new legend for the old tradition. The term occurs again in *Saṃy* vii, 1 110 where the

O welcome things! welcome time to me
 To live and study near the Master's feet,
 Among divers doctrines mooted among men
 Of all twas sure the best I sought and found ¹ (1261)
 To heights of intuition have I won,²
 From sense of hearing is the dulness swept,
 The triple lore have I and magic power,
 In knowing others' thought am I adept (1262)

XIII

When inquiring as to whether his tutor³ had passed
 wholly away at death

I ask the Master—boundless is his wisdom—
 Who as to this life never every doubt ⁴—
 Hero at Aggalava⁵ hath died a Brother,
 Well-known and famous cool and calm [his
 heart], (1263)

Nigrodha Kappa so thyself didst call him
 Such was this good man's name Exalted One ⁶
 Revering thee he fixed his gaze on Freedom
 And Seer of what is stable⁷ well he strove (1264)
 Of this disciple Sakyan all desirous
 Are we to know the fate, thou Seer of all,
 Attent the ear of everyone to hear it —
 Thou art our Master and thou art supreme (1265)

¹ Cf IX

² To mastery of the six forms of *abhiññā* Cf p 14 n. 3 with p 32 n. 2

³ Nigrodha-Kappa. There. This episode is also given in the *Sutta Nipata* verse 342 ff (*SBE* x p 67 ff)

⁴ For *chetva* read *chettu* as Oldenberg suggests. The Commentary paraphrases *dy'atānāṁ -āntarāff'atānāṁ*

⁵ A Vihāra at the chetiya (pre-Buddhist shrine) so called, at Ālava a town on the Ganges 12 yojanas from Benares 30 from Savatthī

⁶ Because he had usually sat in the shade of a banyan (*nigrodha*) and there too became arahant (Commentary)

⁷ I.e., Nibbana as that which does not crumble. He is addressing the Buddha by this title (Commentary)

Well have we learnt how thou canst answer,
 Whose insight straight to heart of things dost go,
 Not vainly do we stand, once more saluting,
 O baffle not, thou infinite in wisdom,
 Who [Kappa's destiny] dost surely know. (1272)
 The Ariyan Norm thou know'st in all its bearing,¹
 Knowing and strong to work, O baffle not'
 As for cool waters when by heat we suffer,
 Thy word we wait for:—rain that we may
 hear!² (1273)

That holy life which, for the goal desirous,
 He of the Kappas led, was't not in vain?
 Passed he away fraught with the seed of rebirth,³
 Or as one wholly free?—that would we hear. (1274)

THE EXALTED ONE

All craving as to life of mind and body
 He severed here below, and crossed the stream
 Of craving flowing long deep-bedded in him,
 Passed utterly beyond both birth and death. (1275)

(Thus spake the Exalted One, best in the Foe)⁴

¹ *Paroparaya* Cf. *Sutta-Nipata*, p. 59, n. 2, with p. 193, n. Our Commentary condenses the paraphrase of that Commentary [*lokutara-*] *lokiyavasena sundaraya* [*asundaraya*] *dare santikaya* iā *ariya dhamman ti*

² Lit., 'rain the heard thing — i e., speech.

³ Our Commentary, unlike the text has *nibbaya* so *anupadiseva*

⁴ The interpolated references to the Buddha *loquitur* are by the Compilers, says the Commentary I do not understand *pañcasettho* here any more than did the Commentators The allusion in the *Sutta Nipata Commentary* is obviously inaccurate The Buddha was not one of the five nor a 'brahmin' in the usual sense Our Commentary suggests the Five Indriyas or the Five Precepts, both *maposita* here Dr Neumann's five divisions of Middle Country and four quarters of barbarians has a more plausible sweep of world laudation but is, I think, without precedent Conceivably, the original reading was simply some such compound as *pamasettho*, chief of men The metre now turns to *śloka*s

VANGISA

Pleased is my heart to hear thy word
 O seventh of mighty Rishis thou!¹
 Not vain, in sooth, was my request,
 Thoust not deceived me, Holy One!² (1276)
 As Kappa spoke so Kappa wrought,
 Disciple of the Buddha he,³
 For he hath cut the netted snare
 By crafty Death outstretched and strong (1277)
 He of the Kappas saw the source
 Of grasping, O Exalted One!
 Ah! truly he hath passed beyond
 The realm of Death so hard to cross (1278)

Thee greater than the gods I greet,
 With thee thy son, O best of men,⁴
 A mighty hero like thee grown,
 Of wondrous Being,⁵ very son (1279)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Vangisa utter his psalm

¹ I.e. seventh Buddha. Cf. p. 403 n. 6

² Lit. Brahmin but used in its original sense: holy, excellent.

³ Consistency between word and deed is expressly named as a quality of a Tathāgata. *Iti vuttaka*, § 112

⁴ Nigrodha Kappa is of course the 'son'. 'Men' is lit. biped. The last verse is not in the *Sutta Nipata*. The term *devadevay* suggests a later source.

⁵ Naga

ENVOI.

*Singing the psalm of their 'lions' roar,
These children of the Buddha, sane, immune,
Winning the safe sure haven of their quest,
Dwell in blest cool like flame of fire extinct. '*

APPENDIX

I

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 8 On Kankha Revata subduing doubt, see *Uddāna*, v 7
 Page 9, l 9 This is virtually a quotation from the Vinaya
 (*Vinaya Texts*, II, 351) "Now it is the custom for the
 Blessed Buddhas to exchange words of greeting with
 incoming Bhikkhus" The same courteous inquiries
 follow On Punna see Appendix III

Page 16, n 2 Add *Vin Texts*, II, 312

Page 17 For "the Great," read Major

Page 21 Read Dasaka The verse = *Dāp*, 325, and is there
 said to have been addressed to King Pisenadi

Page 33 Read Harita

Page 42 n 2 Add *Kathāvatthu*, p 220

Page 46 Read (thrice) for Sisūpacāla(la) Sisūpacālā(la)

Page 48 After *Sanyutta Nikāya* for 1 108, read 1, 208

Page 48 n 3 After *Sany*, for n, 271, read 1, 209

Page 54 Read Pavā n 4 This is too sweeping a state-
 ment See the discussion in Rhys Davids's *Buddhist*
India p 22

Page 63 (lxi) Cf *Dhammapada Commentary*, III 160, giving
 a slightly different version of the legend

Page 67 Five things conduce "cf *Anguttara* III, 81, or
 85 or 173 I am not sure whether the Commentary is
 referring to any of these

Page 69 n 3 Read arahā

Page 72 Read Ātama

Page 76 (77) = *Dhammapada* ver 326

Page 77 (78) First half = *Dhammapada* ver 163

Page 82 For line 4 (86) read Instructs us one what is in palm
 of th' hand revealing In n 2 delete last sentence and
 read Cf "the closed fist" of a teacher *Dialogues*, II 107

Page 91, n 1 Read *Patheyya* = *suppāda*

Page 92 n 2 "huc l thou,ht" is inferable, for sati

Page 93 n 3 For 470 read 412 ff

Page 95 (102) *For minds read wits*

Page 110 n 1 It should have here been stated that *pindola* is Pali for beggar, almsman Childers's Dictionary does not know the word Not recognizing it as a purely common name, the translator and even the editor of the *Iti vuttaka* (§ 91) have yielded to the obstructive association created by the well known sobriquet Yet both Dhammapala's Commentary (on *Iti vuttaka*) and that on the parallel *Saṃyutta* in 93 are clear — *pindola* ulatitū *pindola*, *pindola*saṃ kammaṃ *pindola*jaṃ The sobriquet of Beggar Bharadvāja may have been given by contemptuous kinsfolk On the abuse bestowed on the beggar (specimens are given in the latter Commentary) see Talaputra's verse (1118) It appears that Pindola is the name of a 'Wandering Jew' bhikkhu in Chinese Buddhist legends But it is clear from both the translated and the excised legends in Dhammapala's Commentary, that he knew nothing about that Cf A J Edmunds *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* n 261

Page 116 (133 1) = *Dhp* ver 13 14

Page 117 (137) Cf *Jataka* i No 62 p 150 (text 270)

Page 118 *Read Nakaka*

Page 119 (141) = *Saṃyutta* i 154

Page 122 (147) *Idd* — after apart — *Saṃy* n 109

Page 124 (152) = *Sutta Nipata* ver 728 1001

Page 134 l 4 *For work read world*

Page 138 n 1 *Idd* Cf the correcter form *Udāna* n 3

Page 139 n 2 *Read* genitive absolute

Page 140 n 1 l 3 To references add *Dhammapadā Commentary* in 127 n 2 *for of read of*

Page 143 (191) = *Udāna* n 4

Page 144 (194) Last two lines = *Sutta Nip* ver 410

Page 159 (224) *For In read The*

Page 170 *Read Veththapura*

Page 171 l 1 *Delete be* In n 2 *for The former is read They are and for n 3 read n*

Page 172 *Read Harita*

Page 174 n 1 Conceivably a confusion has arisen in this legend and in that of Somamutta cxxxv Anutta Thera is very possibly Somamutta and the roles of teacher and learner may have got inverted It is curious that Dhammapala after his concluding comment on p 122 makes no subsequent allusion to it

Page 176 last line *Dot dot dot*

Page 182 Niyasa, in the Vinaya account, Yasa. I do not yet know whether the Singhalese (Copenhagen) MS supports this alteration in the Thera's name

Page 185 I can give no explanation of the curious term "tree talk." It is unmistakably *rukkha kathā* in the Br MS. The first verse occurs *Jat*, i 31, iv 496 (text), and is quoted in *Dhammapada Commentary*, i 99

Page 192 "The weather gods." So Commentary *devatā vassay varesun*, the plural number being most unusual (The noun is singular, or plural, the verb is certainly plural.)

Page 196 (344) "Quenched" were more congruous than "crushed," but the latter is nearer the meaning of *padālūtā* shattered, burst

Page 198 n 1 Add It is noteworthy that neither of these versions of Vakkali's legend coincides entirely with that of the *Saggyutta Nikāya* (iii, 119 f.), in which Vakkali is admonished when mortally ill, and ultimately commits suicide without forfeiting arahantship. Cf *Iti-vuttaka*, § 92, *Divyavadāna*, p 49, *Bud Psy*, 258, n 4

Page 199, n 1 Omit two

Page 203 Omitted footnote The "sixteen Atthahas" make up the Atthaka vagga, or Book IV of the *Sutta Nipāta* (ver 766 ff.) But the verse quoted—

*'Seeing the evil of a worldly life
And knowing what is taught by holy Aśvins
Exempt from all the substrate for re birth
The Ariyan findeth no delight in sin
Sin doth afford no pleasure to the pure*

is the "Udan" or solemn utterance of the Buddha, pronounced upon Sona's sincerity and finished recital, in *Udana*, i, 6

Page 203, n 2 For ten read eight It is perhaps a little premature to call Sela a "bebever" in verses 823, 825 (Non behevers usually spoke to or of the Master as *bho*, or *samana Gotama*) If Sela's case be omitted, only six instances remain

Page 231 Verses 469-72 occur *Anguttara* ii 71

Page 237, n 3 Read *Dhammabhūtā* = Norm become, *dhamma kāyā*, paraphrases, etc

Page 237, n 5 Add See also *Mahācāstu* (Senart), iii, 365 f

Page 240 (498) = *Dhammapada*, ver 6

Page 243, l 5 "Abstract"—i.e., arūpa jhānas see p 258, n 1, and Compendium, 64, 90

Page 251, n 1, l 6 Add And also, fully, but in slightly different phraseology, in *Mahācāstu* iii p 93

- Page 251, n 2 *After Mahāvamsa read ch v*
- Page 251, n 3 *For not elsewhere called Greek, read called the Yona in Mahāvamsa (Geiger's translation, P T S, 1912) pp 82, 85 where see n 5*
- Page 252 n 1 *For verses 9, 52 read verse 645 (iii, 9, 52)*
- Page 254, l 4 *Delete comma after rāja*
- Page 255, n 3 *Read Brāhmana*
- Page 256, l 2 *Read for Sisters, Brethren*
- Page 258 (561) *After Rule supply comma*
- Page 262 (578) *Delete comma after bring*
- Page 266 *The story of Sankicca may be a doubly bifurcated legend of his birth and ordination with that of Sopāka (XXXIII) and Sīvali (LX), and his self sacrificing courage with that of his nephew Adhumutta (CCXLVIII)*
- Page 267, n 1 *Delete brackets*
- Page 277 (635 636) = *Dhammapada ver 292, 293*
- Page 280 (653) = *Dhammapada ver 315*
- Page 283 (672) *Parinibbanti need not necessarily refer to the death of the righteous, cf p 202 n 1, Majjhima 1, 45, 446 The Commentary takes it apparently to mean the rounding off of perfected life idāni anupādisesa nibbāna dhātuyā desanaya kutaṃ gahkanto bhavāyitānāti osanagātham aha*
- Page 284 *Read Anna Kondañña* It is interesting to note that the Burmese MS of the Commentary, when commencing his legend, retains the original form Aññasi Kondañña The Buddha, namely, when he had convinced this, his first disciple, is said to have exclaimed *Aññasi vata bho Kondañño!* (Truly Kondañña has perceived!) and the latter became known as *Aññata Kondañña* ('Kondañña who has that which is perceived') (*Vinaya Texts* 1 98) In subsequent allusions the Commentary calls him simply Kondañña or Kondañña manava In *Milinda* n 44 where the eight brahmins' names are given he is called Yañña Cf *Buddhist Birth Stories (Nidana Kathā)*, p 72 f, 113 where he is called Yañña, and Añña Kondañña respectively
- Page 286 n 1 *Add* These three verses are quoted in the *Kathāvatthu*, p 531, as spoken by the Exalted One
- Page 293 Verses 720 721, 724, 725 are ascribed to the official editors or "chanters" Commentary (the first two, *sangītiakarena*, the second two *sangītikārehi vuttagathā* In elucidating verse 722, the *Iti vuttaka Commentary* is referred to
- Page 295 (726) *After mustangs insert comma*

- Page 295, n. 1 In the *Jhuttaka* Suttas 1 and 2 of the Duka Nipāta give in briefest outline the substance of Parīpariya's Gāthā, and would be well known to Dhammapāl¹ but his Commentary on them does not refer to the Thera
- Page 299, l. 2 Read the Ambrosial
- Page 311, l. 2 Read Samana (820) For colon read full point
- Page 318, n. 4 Insert ? after nickname
- Page 319, l. 21 Read Ahimsaka
- Page 326, n. 1 For Ang Nā, m, read iv, and for obstruction, obsessions
- Page 334 (944) Better Some too there are
- Page 335, n. 2 Read (Samantapāsādikā Vinaya m, 300)
- Page 342, n. 1 It is clear that, in Dhammapala's authorities 21 Dighanaka and Mahā Kottthita were different persons
- Of Alaṭāna n, 187, 188, Oldenberg op cit on p 328, n. 4
- Page 342 n. 5 Read Jāt
- Page 343, n. 2 Read (amccato)
- Page 345 (997) Delete colon and rule
- Page 345 n. 3 Add These six lines are quoted as Sāriputta's in the Kathāvatthu, p 257
- Page 354 (1026) The metaphor anticipates by centuries that kindred one of Dante, who (*Purg* xxi) makes Statius say to Virgil
- ‘ As one
Who journeying through the darkness bears a light
Behind that profits not himself, but makes
His followers wise
- Page 361, n. 4 Insert page
- Page 369 Tālaputa is a name that suggests a scoubriquet, *tala* meaning palm or palm leaf, and *puta* a bundle or leaf basket Of *putabhadda* p 270 n. 6
- Page 373 (1104) ‘Hell flung’ is perhaps more rhetorical than closely accurate *pātālakhatay balavāmukhañ ca vibhayanay* is literally [when shall I etc.] “and o’er the awful mighty abyss discharged mouth” *Pātāla*, meaning (vaguely) abyss, is conceived in the Epics and Purāṇas as a bottomless pit on land, in Buddhist literature it is conceived as a whirlpool in the ocean concealing submarine regions Thus in *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, iv, 206, “who says there is a pātala in the ocean” where, as in i, 32 “*Patālam atari sū*” *pātāla* is taken metaphorically as any circumstance in which one is carried

off one's feet, loses balance (*Commentary*) Cf *Mūlinda* n, 138 for a different application

Page 378 n 2 V and c are often confused not only in Singhalese, but also in Burmese, on palm-leaf In *Sutta-Nipāṭa* verse 162f, between *cārano* and *vārano* Fausbøll chose the former What, then is a *cāranaṅga*? The *Commentary* itself is obscure *abhinhaḥ carakārahay viya mano dassento carakārahay purisaṅga viñeetiā cāra gopakānaṅga nibbādetto viya punappunay tantay bhavay dassento* I should be glad to have light thrown on *carakārahay* and *tantay bhavay* In Sanskrit *cārano* is a strolling player, hence my rendering If correct, it is a very likely simile for one with Tālaputī's traditional antecedents to have used

Page 381 (1156) With "mā pāpicitte āhara" cf (1173) p 387, n 3 *Āhara*, as there means, more probably, accost, assail And a juster rendering would be

Wherefore have thou no truck with thoughts of vice,
As bird that flies bewild red into flame

The *Commentary* has *Kāmesu niggatīya līmalacette nihinacittamūḍhā ācīle*

Page 389, n 3 Read *katthara*

Page 394 Read *Bhesakala* also on p 23

Page 412 Read 'lion's'

- Page 295 n. 1 In the *Iti vuttaka* Suttas 1 and 2 of the Duka Nipāta give in briefest outline the substance of Pārīpariyā's Gāthā, and would be well known to Dhammapāla, but his Commentary on them does not refer to the Thera
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- Page 361, n. 4 Insert page
- Page 369 Tālaputa is a name that suggests a soubriquet, *tāla* meaning palm or palm leaf, and *puta* a bundle or leaf basket Cf *putabhatṭay* p. 270 n. 6
- Page 373 (1104) 'Hell flung' is perhaps more rhetorical than closely accurate *patulubhatṭay balaṇṇamukhaṇ ca vāḥkapsanay* is literally [when shall I etc.] "and o'er the awful mighty abyss discharged mouth" *Pātāla*, meaning (vaguely) abyss is conceived in the Epics and Purāṇas as a bottomless pit on land, in Buddhist literature it is conceived as a whirlpool in the ocean concealing submarine regions Thus in *Saṃyutta Nikāya* iv, 206, "who says, there is a pātala in the ocean" where as in i, 32 '*Paḍam atarī 121*' *pātāla* is taken metaphorically as any circumstance in which one is carried

III

THERA VERSES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS ANTHOLOGY NOR IN THE PITAKAS

WE know that the Theragāthā does not exhaust the verses ascribed to Theras which survive in Buddhist literature. There are several which have not even found a place in the Pali Canon. Among these are twenty ślokaś attributed to Punna, son of the Maitreyas (Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra) in the *Mahāvastu* (Senart ed., iii, 382). He is said to have been a brahmin's son of Donavatthu in Kosala, and may possibly be identifiable with Punna Mantānputta, No. IV in our Anthology, the birthplace being identical and the legends very similar. The contents of the verses would scarcely repay the difficulties of a metrical English rendering. They are a hymn of praise to the Buddha, who for thirteen gāthās is addressed by a sun-title, different from that in our collection, in a refrain, as e.g.

** That thou, being in the Realm of Bliss didst become an elephant like to a snowy crest, and enter on thy last birth — this, O thou kin to the thousand rayed / is sweet to me ! **

—a verse which suggests that the hymn is of a relatively late date, the white elephant legend appearing first, I believe, in the Nidānakathā Jātaka Commentary.

After hymning thus the Birth, Renunciation, and Enlightenment, the author continues by exulting in the "great Hero's" Dhamma, this time prefixing a refrain of the one word *dishtyā* "by good luck!" e.g. :

"O happy fate, the Norm Wheel by the Norm ! O happy fate, that this of twelve parts composed should be rolled on !"

Here again is the identification of the twelve links of the "Wheel of Causation" with the "Wheel of the Norm," which Buddhaghosa evidently found in vogue, but which I have not met with in the Pitakas. The *Duyāvadāna*, using the same phrase *diādas'āṅgaḥ* (*prafityasamutpādo*) relates how

this doctrine was explained by the graphic aid of a wheel picture (p 300 f) Cf the modern version of the tradition in *Compendium* p 262 f¹

In the *Divyāvadāna*, again, are other verses—e g, by Panna (Pūrṇa) of Sunāparanta (Sronāparānta) whither he went or returned as a missionary This is the author of No LXX in this collection (p 40 f in *Duyāvadāna*) More available to English readers are the extra canonical Thera verses in the *Milinda* comprising fourteen by Sāriputta two by Pindola Bhāradvāja two by Subhūti, one by Moggallāna the Great, three by Anuruddha one by Upālī, three by Rāhula, one by Vangisa one by Cūla Panthaka, one by Mogharājan, and five by Upasena Vanganta putta All of these occur in the last book (VII) of the *Milinda* and may be consulted in the translated edition They are all quoted by the author as bearing precisely as much, or as little, authority as those other verses, which he quotes on five occasions from the *Theragathā* Reference to such citations is given in my foot notes But the source or sources from which they are drawn remains one of the many problems obscuring the history of Pali literature

¹ Cf Dr Oldenberg's comparative analysis of the diction in the Pūrṇa episode with that of *Vajjh Nikāya* *Rathavināsa-Sutta* *Stu dien zur Geschichte des buddhistischen Kanon* *Nachrichten G W Gottingen*, 1912

IV

WORKS QUOTED OR REFERRED TO BY DHĀNMAPĀLA'S COMMENTARY

- Page 21 *Vinaya* (Vin Texts, i, 131) sermon on Burning (sic)
 Page 207 *Vinaya* (Vin Texts, i, 131) sermon on Burning (sic)
 Page 223 *Vinaya* (Vin Texts, i, 1 f)
 Page 283 *Vinaya* (Vin Texts, i, 100 f), sermon on No-sign-
 [of any soul] (sic)
 Page 9 *Majjhima Nikāya* "Rathavinita Sutta" (sic)
 Page 30 *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Bāḷipandita Sutta" parable of
 the hole in the yoke (Also cited in CLXXXIII)
 Page 31 *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Bhaddēkaratta Sutta" in
 "Lomasakāṅga Sutta" (sic)
 Page 71 *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Punnovāda Sutta"
 Page 82 *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Madhupindika Sutta" (sic)
 Page 161 *Majjhima Nikāya* "[Dhātu]vibhaṅga Sutta" (sic)
 Page 224 *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Kakacūpama Sutta" the para-
 ble quoted by name
 Page 280 *Majjhima Nikāya*, ("Amraparivesana Sutta") on
 "ariyatunhīlāhāra"
 Page 295 *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Indriyabhāvanā Sutta" (sic),
 see below p 418 on p 295 n 1
 Page 342 *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Dighanakha Sutta" called
 "Vedānā pariggaha Suttanta"
 Page 386 *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Māratappanīya Sutta," called
 "Pisādikamma Suttanta"
 Page 30 *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, 45 "Chuggala Sutta" (see
 above, *Majjhima* "Bāḷipandita Sutta")
 Page 44 *Saṃyutta Nikāya* in, 106 "Thera Tissa Sutta"
 (sic)
 Page 18 *Saṃyutta Nikāya* i, 203, "Sānu Sutta" (sic)
 Page 49 *Saṃyutta Nikāya* ii, 271 "Maranañ hetaṃ"
 hinivāvatattā'
 Page 224 *Saṃyutta Nikāya* ii, 98, parable referred to

- Page 224 *Samyutta Nikāya*, iv, 196, § 5, parable referred to
 Page 397 f *Samyutta Nikāya*, i, 185 f, Vangīsa Samyutta
 Page 5 *Anguttara Nikāya*, i, 24, Etad agga vagga (The other forty 'agga' or top (*ἄκρος*) assignments are mentioned (see footnotes), but not with quotation
 Page 288 *Anguttara Nikāya*, iii, 345 f, "Nāgopama suttanta" (sic)
 Page 234 *Khuddaka pāṭha* "Kumārappūṭha" (sic)
 Page 166 *Udāna* iii, 3 The rebuke to Yasoja referred to
 Page 345 *Udāna*, iv, 4 Incident there is referred to, but work not mentioned
 Page 177 *Sutta Nipāta*, "Sabbhiya Sutta" (sic)
 Page 201 *Sutta Nipāta*, "Sabbhiya Sutta" (sic)
 Page 203 *Sutta Nipāta* the "Sixteen Atthakas" (sic)
 Page 126 *Jātaka*, vi No 547, "Vessantarā jātaka" (sic)
 Page 77 *Jātaka*, v, No 536, "Kunala jātaka" (sic)
 Page 258 *Jātaka*, i, No 4, "Culasethi jātaka" (sic, not Cullaka) Dhammapala quotes it not as Vannana, but as stated, so that in his day a "Jātaka" meant Commentary as well as Ākhyāna, all taken together Another interesting feature is his free citation of that Commentary. I give both version as an instance of how fluid was the form of prose narratives, even of canonical matter

Jātaka

Dhammapala

Bhikkhave, Cullapanthālo may nissaya idani tatra dhammesu dhammamāhantatay patto, pubbe pana may nissaya bhogesu pi bhogamañantatay papunhi *Bhikkhave Cūḷapanthālena idani mayhaya evade thāti lokutta raḍayaṃṇa laddhaṃ pubbe pana loliyadayaṃṇa ti*

Apadāna quoted regularly, as for the Sisters' legends, for most, but not for all the Theras—e.g., not for Tālaputa Hence one of Dhammapala's dichotomies of them is that they were either *s'āpadānā* or *an apadānā* Only they who under former Buddhas had had *puññakriyātasena sūrala pūramitū sankhātay parattatay* are in the *Apadāna*

OTHER COMMENTARIES

- Page 398 n 9 *Sāratthapakāsinī* (sic)
 Page 20 *Anguttara Commentary* Never referred to as *Manoratha pūranī* but the phrase quoted (p 199) agrees textually with it
 Page 198 *Anguttara Commentary*
 Page 199 *Anguttara Commentary*

Page 203. *Anguttara Commentary*

Page 56. *Khuddaka-pāṭha* or *Singhutta Commentary*, "Ratanasutta" (10)

Page 180. *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 70

Page 193. *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 381

Page 266. *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 110

Page 8. *Udāna Commentary* on "Tathāgata"

Page 203. *Udāna Commentary* on v. 6

Page 8. *Itivuttaka Commentary* on "Tathāgata"

Page 291. *Itivuttaka Commentary* on "knowing all" and "seeing all" (1)

Page 70. *Therīgāthā Commentary* on Alhaya's Mother, Sisters page 70, referred to as to follow

Page 237 (192). *Vissuddhi Magga* probably the "Indriya-Sacca Niddeśa," as dealing in detail with the Truths

Page 317. *Vissuddhi Magga* the "Dhutaṅga Niddeśa"

In his opening remarks Dhammapāla enumerates the five Nikāyas and affirms the inclusion of the *Thera therīgāthā* in the poetical books of the Fifth (Khuddaka) Nikāya. The gāthas "were all brought into unity (*ekajjayatā*) at the Recitation time (council) and were as such chanted by those who made the recension of the Dhamma" (*dhammasaṅgāhikā*).

It is noteworthy that Dhammapāla only once refers to any of the three last named Commentaries as parts of the *Paramatthadīpanī* nor does he call it his own work. Nor does he even name Buddhaghosa as author or editor of any of the other Commentaries mentioned, or of the *Vissuddhi Magga*. Nor does he refer to the Commentary on the *Sutta Nipāta* as such nor to that on the *Majjhima* nor to that on the *Dīgha*, nor indeed does he ever quote any portion of the *Dīgha* itself, although the *Therīgāthā* includes gāthās taken from that work. See CCLVI CCLIX.

- Bodyservant to the Buddha, 350 f (1021), (1041 f)
 Body (*kaya*), (52), (104), (114), (169), (172), (279 f), (312), (736 f), (395 f), (1020 f), (1150 f), *prissim*; (*samusa*), 80 n 2, (124), (251), (304), (436); (*sarira*), (351 f); (*sandeha*), (509), (*dīpādāka*), (453) (*samussatag*), (769 f)
 Bug (*simile*), (89), (124), 127, (495), (1053)
 Bonds, (142), (176), (182), (282), (413), (417), (521), (699), (750), (768), (793), (1022), (1143), (1153), (1234) See Fetter
 Bones, meditation on, 22, 123 f.
 Books (*ganthā*), 168, 206, (*sallha*), 177
 Boon, (408), 351
 Border city (*simile*), (653), (1003)
 Border country, 97
 Bourne (*gati*), (216)
 Bow (*simile*), (753)
 Boy Theras, 37 f, 60, 73, 220, 231, 233
 *Brahmadatta, 223
 Brahma gods, 149, 177, (1082), (1108), (1178 f)
 *Brahmāli, 150
 Brahmāyu, 52
 Brahmins, xxviii, and *passim*, lore, 180, 194, communion, 158, descent, (880); 'graduate', 52, (221), 222, (holi, excellent), (182); saint, 322 (918), (1264), (1276), enemy of, 357
 Brandis, D. on trees, 263 n 2
 Breathing exercise, (348), (696)
 Breck, nobb. thorough, (173), (476), (650)
 Bunyan, 353 n 3.
 Barden, *simile*, (708), (1021) And see Life
 Burning, 21, (39 f), 207, (1162 f)
 *Cakkhupāla, 88
 Cālikā, 67
 Calm, *subs.* (*samatha*), (94), 96, (112), 101 n 2, (584), (639), (988), (1039), (*upasama*) (239), 419, *adj* (*upranta*), (2), (68), (1006 f), (1226)
 Campā, 32 n 2, 124, 275, 406
 Candagutta, 209
 *Candana, 183
 Candana, a deva 31
 Canda pajjota, King, 238
 Caravan, 12, 70, (132), 135, drivers, 12, 107, 151, 180, 281
 Casket (*simile*), (736)
 Catkin (*simile*), (1138)
 Caution, (422), (716)
 Cause, efficient, 154
 Causeway (*simile*), (615)
 Caves, (524 f), (1091), (1135 f)
 Bheravānā, 142
 Kapotakandārā, 345
 Lopagiri, 186, (309), 245
 Subhacandika, 91
 Suttapinnā, 163
 Sukara-Khata, 341
 Verulhā, (397)
 Cemetery, charnelhd, 36, 37, 123 f, 131, 184, 189, 211, 226, 233, (578), (590)
 Cinobate, xi, (688)
 Cesspool (*simile*), (1153)
 Chuddant Lake, 287 n 3
 Champion. See Hero
 *Chinna, 70
 Chaphina (*parohisi*), 110, 214, 218, 238, 318
 Chant of the Ord. r. (112)

- Clarity of thought, (1003) See also Mindfulness
- Clear visioned, (472)
- Clothes, 146, 151, (578), 301, (896 f), (939 f), 346, 361, (1092), (smile), (170)
- Clouds, (1063 f), (1102), (1133 f), (1144), (1210), (1232), (1268), (smile), (625), (760), (1001)
- Coals, charcoal (smile), (420)
- Cold, (385 f)
- Collyrium pot (smile) (773)
- Compassion, 110, (170), 141, (238), (241), 181, (334), 260, (888), (1045)
- Commentary, the 'Old, xxi f
- Commoners (gahapatikula), 190
- Composure, (696 f), (916)
- Communion with the Good,
- Concentration (jñāna, samādhi), (12), (37), 69, 80, (102), (360 f), (1011), (1051), 421
- Conclave, (963 f)
- Concord, (353)
- Conditioned Genesis, 90, (260),
- Conditions, maturity of, xlv, 52, 87, 98, 103, 109, 150, 167, 179, 198, 222, 233, 236, 271, 321, favourable, (82), (103), (110), 154, good (929)
- Confession, (447)
- 'Connatal Ones,' seven, 248
- Conqueror, (135), (288), (360), (377), (473), (626), (723), (789), (929), (1131)
- Consciousness, conscience (citta), 112 n 2, (184), (420), (1221), (saññā), (1039 f), self conscious (sampajāno), (20)
- Contemplation, (41), (85), (148), (199), (266), (415), (433), (1103), (1176)
- Content, (230), (364), (580 f), 421 (b)
- Cool, (= Nibbāna), xlix, (sati bhūti, nibbūti), (32), (79), (298), (416), (1015), (1022), (1060), (1090), 412, (abhinibbutatta), (1263)
- Corruptions defilements (āśe sa'e), 73, 77, 83, 133, (932)
- Cotton down (smile), (104), (1137)
- Councils, xxi f, 352, 353 n 4
- Councillor (setthi), 39, previous
- Courtesan, 117, 189, 225 f, 231, (939), 383
- Craving (taṇhā), 109, (161), 140 n 1, previous, (141), (1092), unmet with, (1091), (1275) 421 (c)
- Creeper (smile), (399), (416) (761), (1094)
- 'Crossed over,' (839), cf (15)
- Crowd, (992), (1051), (1069), (1144)
- *Cūlaka, 153
- *Cūla Panthaka, 258
- *Cunda the Great, 118, 350
- *Dabba of the Mallis, 10
- Dancer, (267), 326
- Darkness, spiritual, (128), (170), (1268)
- Dark Wood See Woods
- Dart, spear (smile), (313), (494), (448), (495), (514), (526), (755 f), (986), (1053)
- *Dāsaka, 21
- Data (dātaya), (1255)
- Datta, 112
- Dead, (44), (73)
- Death, (129), (133), (190), (448 f), (575), (778 f), (1004), (1277 f), (final), xlviii, 138
- Death king See Māra
- Debt, (1106), free from, (788), (882)
- Deer, 98 f, (113), 114, 122, (601), (1070), (smile), (109), (454), (774 f), (989), (1144)
- Deliverer, (1242)
- Design, no personal, (713)
- Desire (sense), (73), (74), (93), (181), (252 f), (297), (406), (448), (458), (581), (669 f), (787 f), (992), (1112), (1119 f), (heart's) rat, (142); (craving), (1091), (1094)
- Detachment, xlv, ([pa] jareka), 16 (23), (27), (110), 101, (233), (598), (640), (726), 361, (1246), (925), (930), (niranta), (122), (pavatta), (581), as goal, 422 (iv)
- Deva (spirit, angel, god), 15, 23, 34, 58, 63, 141, 148, 163

- Devadaha, 64, 77
 Devadatta, 147, 177, 347, 352
 Devahuta, 140
 *Devasabha, 83
 *Devasabha, (2) 93
 Dhamma, faith, 3, Norm, 4,
passim, truth, (69), (179),
 Suttanta, 182
 *Dhammapāla, 149
 Dhammapāla, xx xxiv f, xxvi
 *Dhammasara, 98
 *Dhammasara's Father, 98
 *Dhamma, 185
 Dhāna See Kunda
 Dhanaṣāla, 241
 *Dhaniya, 161
 Dhātangas See Austentics
 Dialectic, 71
 Dice (*simile*), (321)
 Digbanakha, 342, 345 417
 Diligence See Earnestness
 Disciples, (303), (368), (631),
 (826) (999), (1240), (1249),
 (1265), (1277)
 Discipline, (229), (257)
 Discretion (291), (500 f), (556)
 (582), (632), (1079)
 Disease, (73), illness of Theras,
 etc, 35, 46, *vararogā* cramp,
 (1) rheumatism, or 'wind', ill-
 ness, 64 140, 193, 222,
 leprosy, 78, *ophthalmia*, 88,
 pimples, 151
 Divining art, (1253) Cf Skull
 spell
 Distinction (*uses* 1, a) (370 f)
 Distrust, (1090 f)
 Doctrine (1024), (1027)
 Donavattu Brahman village
 near Kapilavattu 8 284
 Doubt, 7 f, (74) (75), (131)
 (752 f), (829), (1266 f)
 Dream, 145 (500 f)
 Driver, (203) (358), of men,
 (132) (376), (426)
 Dulness (281), (704), (784) And
see Illusion
 Dust (*simile*) (404), (675)
 Duties (740 f) (*anudhamma*), 47
 Dyka (*simile*) (762)
 Earnestness, diligence, (33), (59),
 (64) (83) (156), (230), (249),
 (257), (313), (347), (464) (413),
 (626), (653), (741), (883) (980),
 (981), (1011), (1017), (1245)
 Earth (*simile*), (1013 f)
 Earthquakes, 360
 Ease (*anāha*, etc.), (137), (208),
 (526), (600), (864), (1246),
 (*phassu*), (1033)
 Ecstasy (*samāhuta*), 12, (*pha-*
yā), (41), (112), (518 f), (680),
 (1167), (*samādhi*), (916),
 (1154)
 Edmunds A J, 415
 Egoism, (765)
 *Ekadhamma savaniya, 67
 *Ekavihāriya, 251
 *Eku[d]dāniya, 68
 Elders, xxix n 3
 Elements, 382
 Elephant, 106, 145, 147, 153 200,
 241, 248, 269, 288, (1062),
simile, (31), (77), (194), (244)
 (250), (355 f), (539) (684),
 (842), (968), (1105) (1130),
 (1139 f), (1147 f)
 Ehot, Sir C, 18 n 1
 Ellis Havelock, xxvii n 1
 Emancipation, xlix, 12, 17,
 (60), 67, 101, (181 f), 157,
 (365), (441), (653), 298, (1172),
 (1176) 420 (b)
 Emotion, 155, 166, 182, (510),
 (795 f)
 Empty See Void, places,
 xxviii, 187
 End See Goal, III
 Endeavour, 150, (353)
 Endurance, (371)
 Energy, etc, (148) (156), (167)
 (224), (311), (353), (515), (585)
 (739) (861), (900), (1246),
 (1253)
 Enlightened One (Sambuddha),
 (622), (650), (1046), (1239)
 Enlightenment, 12, (335), (352),
 (672) (750) (900), (1257),
 (factors of), (725)
 Enthusiasm, (*pitapamajja*, lit
 rest and joy) 16, 143,
passim
 Epoures, 85
 Equanimity, (691) (719), 346,
 (1002) (1100)
 *Erika, 86
 Error, (320), (343) (349)

Ethics, 27, 52, 53, (727 f)
 Exercises, 116 n, 1, and *passim*
 Experiences, compared with
 Sisters', xxxii f, xxxix
 Eye Celestial See Supernormal
 Eye of the world, (1031), (1047),
 supreme, (1267)
 Factors (of the self, *khandhas*),
 (87), (90), (120), (121), (161),
 (202), (369), (440), (1101)
 Faculties See Powers
 Faith, confidence, trust, (59),
 (195), (203), (246 f), (249 f),
 (311), (1090), (1254) 421 (d)
 Father, encouraging, 33, 136 f.,
 follows son 98, 136; sons
 named after, 143, 162, 261;
 named after sons, 22, 108
 Fastness of the Crag See Giri
 bhaya
 Fear, cast out by Nibbāna, xivii
 3 n, (5)-(8), (21), (189 f),
 (289), (367) (413), (510), (525),
 (705 f), (704), (831), (840),
 (864), (912) (1193), (1239) 421
 Feeling, 79, (704 f), (986), 421
 Festivals, 63, 181, 341
 Field (*simile*), (1087), (1177)
 Fetters (*simile*), (89), (380), (521),
 (603), (657), (707), (865), (1165)
 Fire, sacred, (219), (341), 222,
 229, *simile*, 8, (39), (40), 49,
 (79), (343), (450), (702),
 (1014), 412, 'on fire,' (1099)
 See Burning
 Firmament, (278), 189, (1013),
 (1034), (1078)
 Fish, 159, 166 (*simile*), (297),
 (362), (387 f), (454), (749)
 Fishermen, xxviii, 166
 Five, sets of, (15), (633), (745)
 Flag See Banner
 Flame (*simile*), (415)
 Flood (*simile*), (7), (15), (88),
 (89), (285) (572), (633),
 (680 f), (890) (894), (1243).
 - saṅsāra, (1131)
 Flowers, (100), (523), (545),
 flax, (1068), jasmine, 90;
 lotus, 54, (401), (700), (1089),
 (1180); lily, (701); (*simile*),
 (323 f)
 Flower scavenger, 271

Folk, (140 f.), average, many,
 (215), (1271). See Working
 Flux (of life), (202); of things,
 (10)
 Forces, (1114)
 Foresight, (547)
 Forest, life in, xxxvii f, 4, 168,
 and *passim*; hardships of,
 (27), (31), 63, (233), (684),
 (244), love of, 17, 19, (537
 f), 267, (601), (992), (1092),
 (1102), (1120), (1135); *simile*,
 50; (logs in), 63, sounds of,
 (49), 63, underwood, (717)
 Forest dwellers, (155), (1146 f)
 Foul objects, 189, 211, 226, 260,
 (594)
 Fortitude, xivii, (1040)
 Franke, R O, ix n 2
 'Fragrant Chamber,' cell, lodge,
 0, 28, 232, 234, 350 f, 360
 Free, freed, (596), (642), (680)
 Freedom, (1264), as goal, 418
 See also Emancipation,
 Liberty
 Friends, friendship, 112, (264 f),
 292 f., (588), (681 f)
 Fruit, fruition, xxiv, 21, (25),
 (471), 291, 315, (result), (422),
 (1121 f), (*simile*), (788)
 Games, (1109)
 Gaggara, 406
 *Gahviratṭiya, 33
 *Gangāturiya, 112
 Ganges See Rivers
 *Gavaccha the Less, 16
 *Gavaccha Major, 17
 *Gavampati, 42
 Gayā, (297), (345)
 Gayā Head, 207 See also
 Kassapa
 Geiger, W, on Yona ka 417
 Gentleness, (48), (583), (602 f),
 (645 f), (645 f), (875), (926),
 (978), (1010)
 Giribhaya, 253 n 3, (1097), (1108)
 Giridatta Thera, 133
 *Girimānanda, 192
 Goad (*simile*), 33, 63, 145, 147,
 176, (335)
 Goal, (335) (725), (784), (1134)
 *Godatta, 279
 *Godhuka, 54

- Gods, fairies, spirits, angels, 53*f*, 57, (205), (242), (497), 272, (908), 352, 364; (god of gods), (533); rain god, 5, 55, (1137)
 'Going out' (*nibbāna*), (138), (1017)
 Good (*attha*), xxxiv, (176), (338), (340), (347), (443), (494), (501), (605), (742), (926), (942), (995), (1066), (1073); Norm and Good, (347); (*sadāttha*), (332), (*paramattha*), (748); (*uttamattha*), (639); (*lalyatā*), 110. See also Aim
 Good (persons), (264), (994), (1012), (1010), *passim*
 *Gosāla, 27
 Gotamas, Gotamids, 106, (1021*f*)
 Gotama (Buddha), so-called by believers, (91), (367), (375), (488), (1089), (1251); so-called by non believers, 15, 30, 138, 201, 218, 311, 321
 *Gotama of Rājagaha, 117
 *Gotama of Kapilavasthu, 171
 *Gotama of Sāvasthī, 264
 Grandfather, 243, (536)
 Grandmother, 10
 Grasping, (420), (640), (673), (1012), (1278)
 Guide, (288), (426)
 Black (*simile*), (976)
 Hair, oiled, (960); (*simile*) tip of, (26), (43), (632), (1001); hair-splitting, (40), (1085), (1160)
 Hallucinations, (1143)
 Happiness, bliss (*sukha*), xiv *f*, (11), (16), (33), (63), 72, (95), 100, (141), (229 *f*), (232), (236), (242), (264), (293), (303 *f*), (351), (396), (494), (518 *f*), 232, (531), (590), (613), 275, (746), 315, (1072), (1072), (1092); threefold, (600); supreme, (894 *f*); as goal, 419
 Hardship (*dukkha*), 350 *f*, 433 *f*; (*duddā*), (371)
 *Hārta of Sāvasthī, 33
 *Hārta of Sāvasthī, 172
 Hate, enmity (*dosa*, etc.), (79), (241), (248), (378), (504), (705 *f*)
 *Hattāsrohaputta, 76
 Haven, (227), (263), (422), (990), 412
 Health, 100, (212), (276)
 Heart (*hadaya*), (119); heart or mind (*citta*), (46) *passim*; as the impulsive self, (214), (355 *f*), (1107 *f*)
 Heat (*simile*), (1273)
 Heavens, (62), (96), (280), (360), (532), (609), (618); (the Pure Abodes), 148, (Tusita), (534), (340)
 Heir, 361, spiritual, (18), (1058), (1142), (1168), (1248)
 Hell. See Purgatory
 *Heraññakāni, 121
 Hero, 13 n 6, (47), (66), (131), (177), (289), (527 *f*), (622), (665), (841), (1154), (1241), (1279)
 Hills, xxxviii. See Mountains
 Hill top fur, 341
 Hindrances, (74), (171), (573), (902), (1010)
 Hirsching, (606), (654), (685)
 Hog (*simile*), (17), (101)
 Holiness, (631)
 Home, xxxix. See also House
 Hope, (530)
 Horae, (205), (1140)
 Hot iron (*simile*), (714)
 House, (1107); (*simile*), (36), (183 *f*), (712); household as, (36), (46), (107), *passim*
 Humility, (71), (309), (579)
 Hunt, Mra M., xx
 Huts, associated with brethren, (5159); associated with the body, 5 n 3, 236 *f*.
 Hypocrisy, (1124)
 I, mine, (717), (1072 *f*), (1092)
 I-Tung, xlii
 Idlth, 32 n 2, 150, 162, 220 *f*, 234, 250, (505), 314, (909), (1104), 342, (1141 *f*), (1262)
 Ideal, (742); ideal order, xiv. See Order
 Ignorance (*avijjā*), (29), (282), (419), (514), (572), (627), (1125), (1267)
 Ill, pain, sorrow, (57), (74), (411), (51), (120), (152), (143), (191),

- (227), (255 f), (258), (263), (291), (339), (421), (440), (491), (518 f), (585), (601 f), (676 f), (682), (797), (730 f), (790), 307, (795 f), (1008), (1115 f), (1124), (1230), (1249 f), (1254 f)
- Ill will. See Hate
- Illusion (*moha*, *sammoha*), (79), (344), (378), (573), (641), (651), (1009), (1207)
- Immune. See Sane
- Immunity, xiv, 421 (h)
- Impermanence, (23), 68, (111), 106, (118), (121), (187 f), 156, 173, (592), (670), (715), (1091 f), (1117), (1121), (1133), (1159), (and ill will), (275)
- Incessant change, (118) See Flux, Impermanence
- Indagopaka, 18 n 1, 101 n 2, (1063)
- India, 251, 360
- Indra, (410), 272, (628), (749), (1108)
- Inertia, (987) See also Sloth
- Infirmity, 78
- Influctuate, (191 f), (364), (434)
- Insane, (931), (1120)
- Insight (*vipassanā*), xiv, 16, 195, *passim*, (*aññā*), (441); (*paññā*), (46), (141), (520), (865), (929), (1099), (1094), (1998), (1142), (1231), (1272); (*dassana*), (45), 81, (174), (372), (*passati*), (61); (*ñāna*), (69), (419), (*ñānadassana*), (172), (as goal), 419
- Intellect (*buddhi*) (1915)
- Intentness of mind, (12), (46), (272), (354), (406), (518 f), (1098)
- Intercourse, (75), (84), (119), (149)
- Intoxicants (Four *Āsava*), poisons, venom, (47), (791), *passim* See also Sane
- Introspection, (981)
- Intuition (*vipassanā*), xxxiii, (584), (1012), (*abhiññā*), (1262)
- *Isidatta, 107
- *Isidunna, 141
- Isipatana, 62 104, 114, 284
- Isle (*simile*), (412)
- Jains, 30, 83
- *Jambogāṃbika's son, 32
- *Jambuka, 179
- Jambudīpa, (822), (914)
- *Jenta, 100
- *Jenta Purohita putta, 218
- Jeta Vana Vihāra, 4 n 1, 22
- Jhāna, 4, 38, (41), 48, (112)
- Jungle, (95), (350 f), (435 f), *passim*; (*simile*), (338)
- Jewels, (187), 202
- *Jotidāsa, 119
- Joy, (377 f), (1135 f), (1144)
- *Kaccāna, or Kaccāyana, the Great, 107, 137, 202, 238
- Kaccāna See Sumbala Kaccāna
- Kālā, 123
- Kālā Godhā, 315
- Kalinga country, 253 n, 3
- Kallivāta, 341, 382
- *Kāludāyin, 248
- Kaṣhamitta See Vakkya, (3)
- *Kashadinna, 137
- *Kankhā Revata, 7
- Kapila, brahmin, 359
- *Kappa, 259
- *Kappaṇa Kura, 146
- *Kappaṇa the Great, 254, 260
- Karma, Karma, 21, (80), 109, (144), 129, (419), (496), (574), 329, 340; effect of (*vipāka*), (146), 322, (422)
- *Kassapa, 79
- Kassapa See Kumāra
- *Kassapa of the River, 195
- *Kassapa of Gayā, 197
- *Kassapa of Uruvelā, 21, 72, 180, 195, 206
- *Kassapa the Great, Pippali-mācava, 119, 122, 359, 387
- *Kāṭiyāna, 49, 215
- *Khaṇḍa sumana, 90
- *Khadiravaniya Revata, 45
- *Khataka, Sāvattihī, 96
- *Khataka, Kosala, 143
- *Khuja Sobhita, 163
- *Kumbala, 195, 125
- Kindness (to animals as well), (237 f), (602 f), (645 f), (1258) See also Service
- King, (777 f), (*simile*), (1235)
- Knowledge, 419

- Kohta, 341. See Moggallāma
 Koliyans, 77, 93, 144, (529)
 Kondañña See Aññā.
 *Kosalavihāra 59
 Kosambi, 16, 110, 169, 177 n 1, 262
 *Kosya, 204
 Kosya's, 204, 215, 379
 Kotigāma, 129 n 5, 130
 *Kotthita (Kotthika) the Great, 6
 Kukkuta, 231
 *Kula, 24
 *Kulla, 211
 Kumā, 41
 *Kumāra Kassapa, 147
 *Kumā's son, 41
 *Kumā's son's friend, Sadanta, 42
 *Kunda-Dhāna, 19
 Kundiya, 157
 Kurukaccha, 96, 169
 Kuru, 157, 302
 **Kūṭavihāra, 1 and 2, 57, 58
 Lant, 69, 71, 84, 93, 111, 123, (187 f), (550)
 Lakuntaka See Bhaddiya
 Lamp (*simile*), 179, (1026)
 Land, owner of, xxviii, 134, 143, 202, 241
 Leaf (*simile*), (2), (754), (1006 f)
 Learning, (141), (373), (593), (1026 f)
 Leper (1054)
 Liberty, (89), (92), (100), (142), (270), (274), (290), (302), (319), (410), (465), (477), (545), (641)
 See Emancipation, Release
 Licchavi rājas, 44, 75, 106, 118
 Life, xli f, li, (10), (98), (121), attitude towards this, (12), (20), (23), (152), (196), (416), (606), f (654 f), (685 f), (1002 f) (1141), as pain, (255 f), (791), (as a burden), (804), (708), rebirth of, (258 f), (399), (446), (575), (1126 f), (1079), ebb of, (114), (145), (275), (451), (498), (553): lust of, (378), term of, attained, (67), (78), (80), (83), (87), (90), (170), *passim*, holy, (236), (587), (679), (709), (836), (1027), (1274), 'going out' of, (416), (704); former life See Supernormal (memory)
 Light (*simile*) (*pabbhā*), (288); (*āloka*), (422); (*payjotakara*), (416), (1244), (as goal), 419
 Lions (*simile*), (3), (367), (810), (1081), lion's roar, or confession, 25, 71, 111, 115, (175), (177), 170, 207, 213, (832), 316, 367, 412
 Lip knowledge, (1074)
 *Lomasa kangya, 31
 Longing, (752); (cultivated), (32), (514), (1091 f), (ejected), (10), (57)
 Lore (*ujja*), (404), (1184), (1231), (1236), (1248). See Threefold Wisdom
 Love, 224, 322, (1228); higher love, (742)
 Luck, (214), (295), (310), (320 f), (356 n 4), (511), 387
 Lucky, (421), (466), (520)
 Lupton, Mr W., 302 n 2
 Lust (*loma*), (139), 260, (*raja*), (191 f), (734), (*raga*), (282), (469), (*āmaraga*), (1152)
 Late, 278, (638)
 Macchukāsanda, 107
 Mada, 359
 Madhuvāsettha, 210
 Magadha fields, xxxviii, 151 f, 153; (country), *passim*
 Magic See Iddha
 Magician, 289
 *Mahākāla, 123
 *Mahānāga, 210
 Mahānāma, 325
 Mahā Payāpati, 123
 Mahā Panthaka See Pantlika
 Mahā Sela See Sela
 Mahāsuvaṇṇa, 88
 Mahā'ttiha, 359
 *Maitavambha, 96
 Mallas, the republic of, 10, 80, 90
 Mālukyā, 212
 *Mālukyā's son, 212, 307
 Mantāni brahmins, 8, 320
 *Mānava, xxviii 73
 Mantras, Vedic hymns, runes, spells 7 n 2, 1255
 Māra, (1095), as fear, 13, 30, 51, 53, as death, (7), (253), (256),

- (402), (411 f.), (571), (1166), as evil, (177), 163, 167, (263), (279 f.), (300), (381 f.), (463), (831 f.), (893), (1145), (1146 f.), (1242)
- Marks, 281, 310
- Master, the (*sattā*), 510 f., passing wise, (67), (901); passing kind, 559 f., (623), (722), (870), (1037 f.) (1015), teacher, (86); devotion to, (604), (656), (687), (792), (891), (918), (1016), (1050), (1088), (1185), (1211), of the caravan (*simile*), (1236)
- *Mālang's son, 162
- Māyā, (534)
- Meaning (*attha*), (36), (106); grasp of, (373), inward, (188)
- Meditation (*jhāna* etc.), (37), 45 n (43) (864), (1059 f.), (1066). See also Contemplation, *Jhāna*
- *Meghiya, 67
- *Melajina, 114
- Memory, 374, (1024), (1032)
See also Supernormal
- *Menāsira, 76
- Merchants. See Traders
- Merciful (1143)
- Merrit, (238), 245, (566)
- *Mettajī, 87
- Mettayya, 25
- Middle Country, 107, 281 n 1
- Middle Way, (563)
- *Miggaśā, 216
- *Migga's Mother, (1164)
- Migga'sira, 138, 395 n 1
- Mind (*citta*) See Consciousness, Heart, (*mānasa*) (102), (1119), (*manol*), (752) (762), (1117)
- Mindfulness, 12, (30), (46), (59), (63), (85), (98), (99), (190), (165), (317), (352), (446), 230, (607) (694) (765), (806), (865), (899), (948), (1035), (1090), (1093), (1141), (1223) 419
- Mine (*simile*), (1049)
- *Mine. See 'I.' Self conceit, Illusion
- Miracle, the Twin, 36 40, 55, 128, 141, 153, 165, 170, 200
- Mirror, 133, (*simile*), (171), (395)
- Modesty, (1079)
- Moggali, 341
- *Moggallāna the Great, 86, 101, 269, 340, 392, 389, 405
- Moggallāna, stockherd, 351
- *Mogharājān, 151, other verse, 421
- Moment, the, xlv, (231), (403), (653), (1004 f.).
- Monichism, xxxvii See also Detachment, Solitude
- Moon (*simile*), (182) (306), (361), 231, (546), (548), (871 f.), (1119), (1252)
- Moral code, (973), b.i.vii, (933)
- Morals, (603 f.), (865) See Ethics, Virtue
- Mother, dying at birth, 10, 37, 266, forest lover, xxxix, 17; encouraging son, 18, 27, 70, humbling, 72, 223, fragrant, 29; solicitous, 31, (33), 48 f., 234, rebuking, 195, brethren named after
Bhaddiya Kālī Godhāya.
Kātyāna
Kumār's son
Mālungyā's son
Moggallāna
Pupphā Mantāniputta, 423
Vāḍḍha Pañcālī's son
Sāriputta
Vimālā Kondhāṇḍī (? *allog*)
- Mountains, hills, (524 f.), *simile*, (652), (690), (1000), (1013), love of, xxxviii, (13), (544), (601), (1053), (1144)
- Frontier hills 41, 42
- Himālaya, 142, 157, (692), 363 n. 2
- Isigū, (405)
- Kita, 345
- Nesāṇika, (115)
- Sinera, 360
- Vebbāra, Paṇḍava, (41)
- Vulture's Peak 198, 276
- Mourning, (44), (544 f.)
- *Mudita, 187
- Müller, Ed., xxx n. 1, b
- Music, (267), (399), (467), (1071)
- Nāṇa, 206, 210 n 1, (692 f.), (1240), (1279)
- *Nāṇasamāla, 175
- *Nāṇta, 82

- Parivāra, 79
 Parks, gardens
 Ambātaka, 230
 Antelope, 303
 Banyan, 55, 93
 Deer, 97
 Kālaka, 124
 Kapittha, 23
 Tapodā, 51
 Pāsenadi, King of Kosali, 13,
 20, 47, 166, 270
 *Pāsika, 165
 Passion (*nīga*), (18), (39 f), (79),
 (133 f), (188), (316), (327),
 (378), 211, (416), (674), (734),
 (806 f), (992), (1162 f),
 quenched, (12), (56), (704)
 Pātaliputta, Patna, 163, 339 n 2
 Pith (*addhāna*), (1241); (*pada*)
 See Way
 Path (Arayan Eightfold), 26 n 1,
 (35), (69), (132), (166), (179),
 (349), (369), (421), (520), (595),
 (637), (709), (767), (950), (1115)
 Paths, Four (Stream winning,
 Once return, No return, Ara-
 hantship), 10, (25), 52, 61,
 106, 126, 133, 141, 150, 184,
 222, 230, 231
 Paṭisambhuddāmagga, 5 n 1
 Patience, (1029)
 Pāṭumokkha, 169, 224, 211
 Patna, Council of, xxi, 339 n 2
 Pāvāraṇā, 402
 Pāvā, 90
 *Pavitha, 82
 Peace (*paday santay santi*), (11),
 (33), (260), (364), (369), (405),
 (422), (434), (521), (642)
 (671 f), (876), (905), at peace
 (*samā*) (10); (*rupasanta*),
 (326); (*yogakkhema*), 171,
 (*sama*), (748), as goal, 419
 Peacemaker, (441 f)
 Peasants, 47
 Perfection, (114), 420
 Perseverance, (83), (385)
 Peta's, (258) (1125)
 *Phussa, 335
 Physician, surgeon, healer, 109,
 208 (444), (722), (756), (830 f),
 (939), (1111)
 Pippali mācava; Kassapa the
 Great, q r
 *Pilinda-Vaccha, 14
 Pit (*samā*), (759), 417
 Pitakas, 66, 97, 120, 133
 *Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, 110, 415
 Pith, i.e. truth, 101, 102, (761)
 *Piyañjaha, 75
 Pleasure, bodily (*sarira sukhā*),
 (1033)
 Plough (*samā*), (16), (101); a
 measure, 21 n 2
 Poets among the Brethren, xxv
 Poetic qualities in the Psalms,
 xxxv f
 Poison (*rasa*), (103), (710),
 (758 f) See Intoxicants
 Pokkharavatti, 122
 Pokkharasāti, 521
 Pool (*samā*), (759)
 Poor, in Buddhism, xxix
 *Posiya, 39
 Potter, 161
 Pottibhā, 338
 Potīnya, 143
 Powers, lle of the Ten, 7 n 1,
 9, 61, 147, 198, 219, 351;
 (faculties, forces), (109), (352),
 (338), (437), (593), (672), (725),
 (728 f) (948), (1114)
 Prayers, (473)
 Preachers, xxiii, (234 f), 191
 Precepts, the, 157, 167, 181, 186
 Principle, (219), (291)
 Procrastination (225 f) (231 f),
 (261 f)
 Prophecy, (951 f)
 Pukkusaṭi, 91, 161
 *Puṇḍra of Saṅgharanta, 70
 *Puṇḍra of the Mantāna, 8, 349,
 423
 *Puṇḍamāsa, 15
 *Puṇḍamāsa, (2), 134
 Puppet shape, (769 f), (1020 f)
 Purgatory, (62), (89), 322, 364,
 369, (790), (1128)
 Purification (*visuddhi*), (415),
 (676 f)
 *Purity (religion, *suddhi*),
 (219 f), (331), (341 f), (318),
 (893), (holiness), (566)
 Purposes, (546), (674 f), (769),
 (1020)
 Quarters, four, (555), (1057)
 Quest. See Aim

- *Rādha, 115, 344
 *Rāhula, 183
 Rain, and rain god, 5 = 3, (24), (50), 55, 56 f., 99, (128), (189), (325 f.), (524), (531), (597 f.), (985); (*simile*), (133 f.), (447), (675), (1135), (1273)
 *Rājadatta, 189
 Rājagaha, 5, *passim*
 *Rakkhita, 77
 *Rāmaneyyaka, 53
 *Rāmaniyikūṭika, 59
 *Rāmaniyavhārin, 49
 Rapture, 198, (351), (382 f.), (518 f.)
 *Ratthapāla, 302
 Razor (*simile*), (737)
 Realization, (331), (434)
 Reason (*pañña*), (126)
 Robartha See Lāfo
 Recluse, (228 f.), 155, (587), 276
 Reed, rush, (402), (487 f.), (634)
 Refrain verses, *xxi*
 1. The Threefold wisdom . . . (24), etc
 2. And the great Quest . . . (136), etc
 3. With thought of death . . . (196), etc.
 4. I will not eat . . . (223), etc.
 5. Thereat arose in me . . . (269), etc
 6. The Master hath . . . (604), etc
 7. O see the seemly . . . (220), etc
 Refuges, the (3), 157, 167, (280), 184, (303), 180
 Refuge (*simile*), (412), (449), (764), (780), (838), (831).
 Release, from drudgery, (43), from rebirth, (516 f.) See also Life: of spirit, 106, (750), (865), (906), (1021); as goal, 418 f.
 Religion (*dhamma*), 234; (*ad māñña*), (789)
 Remorse, (225), 360
 Renunciation, 171, (478), (512), 248, (640), (691), 304
 Reputation, (291-294)
 Resolve, (222 f.), (312 f.), (514)

- *Revata, 45, 279
 Reverence, (387 f.), 219, (423 f.), (589), (1078), (1098)
 Rice, 146, (317), (381), 222
 Righteousness (*sīla*), (203), (740), (1077)
 Rishis, 206, (1065), (Buddhas), (1276)
 Rivers, (523)
 Aciravati, 166
 Ajakarañi, (307 f.), 245
 Candabbhāgā, 255
 Ganges, 113, 130, (168), 254, (1904)
 Kimpālā, 67
 Nerañjarā (Phaggū), 181, (340)
 Rohini, 141 n 2, (529)
 Sarabhū, 43
 Sarasvatī, (1104)
 Vaggumudā, 166
 Yamunā, 159, (1904)
 Rock, crag (*simile*), (191 f.), (643), (651), (680), (1000)
 Roguva, 90
 Rohi, 159
 Rudiments (*adī*), 35
 Rule (*Sāsana*), system, church, 103, (132), *passim*, decay of, (952 f.)
 Runes, (2), (1006 f.)
 Rūpasārī, *xxiv*, 201, 341
 Saṃmoda See Pakkha
 Saṃsāra, 14 n 1, (87), (99), 135, 150, 172, (493), (785), 420 (d); (traveller in), (215), (258)
 *Sābhaka, Sāppaka, 186
 *Sābhakāma, 220
 *Sābbamatta, 122
 *Sābhaya, 177
 Sacrifice, (341), (378), human, (707), self, (1039)
 Saddhammavāṅgaha, *xxv*
 Safety, (32), (69), (171), (415), 421 (b)
 Sāgali, 359
 Sāgita, 350
 Sage (*muni*), (68), (176), (183), (592), (896), (907), (946), (1109); (*vi—i e. vishā*), (713), (721), (868), (900), (1015)
 Saint (*santo*), (57); (*sammāno* [*vyādhacaro*]), (212), *poṭi*, (910)

Sāketa 73 43 n 1 70 70 129
210 215
Sākiyan Sākya a clan of
rājās at Kapilavatthu 22
(81) (729 f) *patim* follow-
ers of the Buddha 40 47 81
162 320 ancestors of See
Sun the Buddha (1265)
Sakka deva 89 118 272 285
(1206)
Saku 74
Sallyport (355)
*Sāmaññakkāni 40
*Sambhuta 182
*Sambala Kaccāna 142
Salvation (*saddatta*) (112)
(1260) (*amala*) 83
*Sāmidatta 84
Samiddhi a brahmin of Sāvat-
thi father of Paṇḍarika 15
Samiddhi a brahmin of Nālika
father of Gāvecha Major 17
*Samiddhi 51
*Samutiggatta 78
Sandalwood pavilion 141
*Sandhita 156
Sana immune (*andāre*) (100),
(162) (178) (289) (336) (344)
(363) (369) (370) (672) (684)
(711) (806) (919) (996)
(1061) 412
Sangāmya Thera 39
*Sangharakkhita 98
*Sāhiya 52
Sāhiya paribhāṣaka 311
Sankasa 9
*Sankasa 266 291
*Sānu 48
Sappaka See Sabhaka
*Sappadāsa 214
*Saraṅghaṇa 236
Saratthapalaṇḍi 798 n 9 424
*Sāputta 340 his influence
17 41 46 61 61 109 191
teacher 66 73 204 268 279
visits sick 46 78 falls sick,
109 commended 69 312
306 f., 358 390 402 431
other verses 422 dea h 356
Sāsa See Order (1) Rule
*Sāmatthiya 167
Sāraṭṭha 1, agga* xxxi
Sāvatthi capital of Kosala 7
patim

Scriptic (760)
Scruples (672)
Sea See Ocean
Season *ajjima* 181, (317)
autumn 210 winter 171
residence 164
Seed (*amala*) (763) (399 f)
(539 f)
See (*patim* of Chind Up vi
26 2) (61) (*muṣa*) (164)
(733) (879) (1143) (1165)
(*duṣṣa*) (228) (*ostikha*)
(29) (903) (904) (1038)
(104) (348) (1078) (1118)
(1234) (1240) (*duṣa*) (1264)
(*ostikha*) (12 f f)
*See 28 191 210
Self-conceit pride (60) 65 n 7
(89) (102) (20) (240) 219
n 1 (765) (1074 f) (1226)
Self-denial 168 (1092) See
also Austerities
Self-dependence (412) (542)
Self-mastery (59) 176 (464)
(631) (636) (697) (1146 f)
421 f)
Self-satisfied (*patim*) (10)
Sena 209
*Senaka 180
Sense (10) *patim* gates of
(116) (12) 241 n 5 (679)
desires of See Desire
Sere (*astaka*) (8) (899)
(*amala*) (1) (207) (1077) (*apa-*
anta) (69) (441) (752) (1223)
Sermon prems xxxi
Serpent snake (229) (*amala*)
(457) (576)
Service 67 101 (175) (18 f)
(210 f) 420 natural 101 f
Sita 298
Setavā 67 123
*Setucca 91
Shadow (*amala*) (1041 f)
Ship (*amala*) (766)
Shipwrecked (*amala*) (147) (265)
Seven threefold (1226)
*Sita 60
*Sita 209
*Sita 91
*Sita (6.8), (709) 382, of
women xxxi xxxix
Simple life 9
Sora 11, 14 300

- *Singālaputar, 22
 Singutta, 241
 *Sīmānda, 224
 *Sīmat, 127
 *Sīmutta, 241
 *Sivagāḍha, 45
 Sivagāḍha, 127
 Sisters (Bhikkhunis, Theris),
 xxxi, xxxiv, 14, 69 n 3,
 147, 194, (1257)
 Sśupacāla, 46
 Sita Vana See Woods
 *Sita Vanīya, 11
 Sivaka, 139
 *Sivaka, 18
 *Sivahi, 60
 Skull, (bowls like), 113 n 1,
 (1118), (apcll), 138 395
 Sky, (1155 f)
 Slackness (*sūkhā*), (1165)
 Slaughterhouse (*amūle*), (712)
 Slaves, servants, xxviii f, 21, 70
 Sleep, (17), (22), (84), (193), 145,
 (200)
 Sloth, (17), 44, (74) (101), 131,
 162, (205), 176, (997), (1010),
 (1033)
 Smile, by the Master, (630), by
 Kappina, (1086)
 *Sobhita, 131
 Sobhita See Khujja Sobhita
 Solitude, xxxvii, (54), (142),
 (189 f), (239), (245), 245 f,
 (537 f), (577 f), (692) (597 f),
 (629)
 *Somamitta, 121
 Son, 136 f, (spiritual) See Child
 *Sopa Kōlīsa, 135, 275
 *Sopa Kutakanna, 27, 202
 *Sopa Potiriyaputta, 143
 *Sopāka, 37
 *Sopāka, (2), 233
 Soul, self, non-existence of per-
 manent, 68, (594) 235, (678),
 (715), (766), (1160)
 South Hill, 98
 Speculation on life, (715) (733)
 Speech, (161), (1227 f), (1233)
 Stairway (*amūle*), (764)
 Stars, 138, (193), 318
 Status, social, of Brethren,
 Steadfastness, (1049), (1081)
 Study (*yoga*), (1142), (*sikkha*),
 (1247) See also Training
 Storm, 45, 54, 55, 142, 153,
 (307 f), (522)
 Streams (*amūle*), (761)
 Strand (*amūle*), (613)
 Stumbling stone (*amūle*), (680)
 Supsumāragira, 22, 224
 *Subāhu, 64
 Subhaddā, lay sister, 20
 *Subhūta, 190
 *Subhūta, 4, other verses, 422,
 Subjects, the Ten, 9
 Sublime moods, or sentiments,
 203, (336), 279, (049)
 Sudassana, vihāra at Sāvatī, 95
 Sudhammā, (1198)
 Suddhodana, 70, 126, 214, 248 f.
 *Sugandha, 23
 *Subhanta, 97
 Suicides, intending, 103, 198, 214
 Sujā, (110)
 Sumana, 4
 *Sumana, 193
 *Sumana, pupil of Anuruddha, 220
 Sumangala, 47
 Sun, ancestor of Sākya, 30,
 (158), (417), (1023), (1237),
 (1258)
 *Sunāga, 81
 Sunāparanta, 70, 141
 *Sundara samudda, 228
 *Sunita, 271
 Supernormal powers, 96, 326,
 emitting light, 11, 211, at
 resting food 43, vision, 32
 n 2, (332), (379), (516), (562),
 (627), 326, (616), (996), hear-
 ing, 32 n 2, (379), (997),
 (1262), thought (*abhiññā*), 28,
 (1262), memory, 32 n 2, 131,
 (627), (913), movement, 96,
 (104), (901), thought reading,
 (379), (1248 f), power, or id-
 dhi, (379), (563) See also Iddhi
 Suppavāsā, Kumārā, 60
 Suppāraka, 70
 *Suppiya, 36
 *Suraḍha, 116
 *Suraḍha, 74
 *Sayāmana, 74
 Sword (*amūle*), (39), (40), (449),
 (1094 f), (1163)
 Takkaṇḍā, 136, 149, 201, 319
 *Tālapati, xxv f, xl, 369, 418

- Tahsman, (616)
 Taming (spiritual), (5), (8), 24, (354), (359), (441), (689), (877), (1111)
 Tapussa, 12
 Tathāgata, 8, (507) See Thus bath Come
 Teacher and pupil, 18 f. (66), (330 f), 203, 310, (408 f), (433)
 *Tekuchakāri (kāni), 208
 *Telakāni, 298
 Temperance, (12), 111, (583), (982 f)
 Theatre, 360
 Theras of the Cave, 1, ex clv, clxvi, cxvii, cxxxiii, of the Field, clxiv, cxxi, of the Hills, xxiii, xxxvi, cxv, clvi, cxxliii, cxxliii, of the Hut, xiv, lv lx, xcv, cxxxviii, of the Rain, i, h lv, cc, of the River, cxxiv, cxli cxi, cxvi, cxi, cxxxix, cxxlv, of the Woods, vi, xii, xiv, xvii, xxi, xxvii xxxi xlii, xlix, lxii, lxiii, lxviii, xcii, cix, ex cxiii, cxxxv, clv, clxii, clxvii, cxi, cxxi, cxxv, cxxxiv, cxxi, cxxli cclvii, cclxi, and Māra, vii, xxv, xlii xlii
 Thieves, 109, 123, 279, 201 f. (simile) (449), (786), 318 f
 Thought (citta), (25), (mata) (501) (sañña), (217 f), sati, (794 f), thoughts of a great man, eight 326
 Thullakotthita, 302
 Thunder (simile), (760)
 Thunderbolt (simile), (419)
 Threefold lore, or wisdom (tevija), 14, 29 n 1, (55), passim
 Thus has or have Come, Ho, They, xxii, 8 (280), (343), (483) (827) (1256) (1267)
 Tibet, 112 n 2
 Tie (bandhana), (414), (gantha) 572, (sanga) (38), (sandana), 290
 Time, as precious (30), (661) See also Moment
 *Tissa the Sākyan, 43, 385
 *Tissa of Roguva, 90
 *Tissa of Rājagaha, 123
 *Tissa Kumāra, 251
 Touch (of death), (783)
 Traders, 123 (530), 254
 Training (sikkhā), 5 n 3, (68), 116 n 1, (239) (333), (407), (433), (513), (588), (608 f), (634), (1215), (1247), as moulding nature, 24, 34, (433)
 Trapper, (774)
 Trees banyan, 408, 12, kareri, 363 n 2, mango, (64), jasmine, 90, sāl, (114), (948), rose apple, 32 n 3 (309), acacia, 40, 344; 'Bodhi', (217), 248, 'Bahuputtaka', 301, 'Kingstead', 12
 *Tree talk' 185, 415, spirits, 12
 Truths, the Four Ariyan, 15, 39, (88), 105, (215), (402), (592), 285, (1008), (1258)
 Truth (sacca), 184, (1229); (attha), (71), (210); dhamma See Noru, dhammā, (708), (yathāva), (422), (1090), (tathā dāda), (1077), master of the, (758), asseveration of, 254, as goal, 420
 *Udāyin, 287
 Udena, 110, 110 n 4
 Udhoca, 263
 *Ugga, 78
 Ugga, 78
 Uggaṅgama, 158
 *Ujja, 52
 Uj n 233
 Uppahāna, (507)
 Ukkattha, 157
 *Ukkhepa[kata] Vaccha, 66
 Upasā, 46
 *Upāli, 50 147, 168, other verse, 422
 *Upasena, 200
 *Upasena Vanganta's son, 261, other verses, 422
 *Upavāna, 140
 Uruvelā 21, 72, 180, 206, 254
 Upatissa, 341, (998)
 *Ussaha of Kosala 99
 *Ussaha of Kapilavatthu 145
 Ussu root, (402)
 *Uttara of Rājagaha 109
 *Uttara of Sāketa, 123
 *Uttarapāla, 170
 *Uttarā 353

- *Uttiya of Sāvattihī, 34
- *Uttiya of Pāvā, 54
- *Uttiya of Kapilavattihī, 82

Vaccha. See Pinda*

- *Vaccha, Vana, 17
- *Vaccha, Vana, 101
- *Vacchagotta, 101
- Vacchagottas, the, 101
- *Vaccapāla, 72
- Vagrant bhikkhus, 50, 146
- *Vaddha, 194
- *Vaddhamāna, 44, 385
- *Vajjana, 58, 59, 63, 106, 182, (919), 347
- *Vajji putta, 63
- *Vajji putta, (2), 106
- *Vajjo, 155
- *Vakkhā, xxxiv, 197
- *Vallha of Pāvā, 54
- *Vallha of Sāvattihī, 112
- *'Vallha' Kanhamitta of Vesālī, 131
- Valuer, assessor, court, 21, 212
- *Vangha, 985
- *Vappa, 62
- *Vāra, 164
- *Vasabha, 118
- Vasuloka, 42
- Vebbāra, (41)
- Vedas, the Three, 6, 52, 74 n 2, 157, 197
- Velugāma, 107
- Velukandā, 41, 42
- Veluva, (919)
- Vagudatta Thera, 132
- Vepacitti, (749)
- Vesālī, 44, 56, 63, 65, 75, 106, 118, 131, 182, 226
- Vessarāna, 159, 182, 245
- Vetthapūra, 170
- Vaticum (smile), (616)
- Views, (340 f)
- Vigil, (203), (411)
- Vigilance, (59), (193), (285), (12), (1049)
- Vihāra's, xl, 59, 95, 102, 119, 136, 185, 298; *the Lougari*, 186, *the Rhojajagari*, 253 n 3, *the Jeta Grove*, 4 n 1, 22, 285, 294, *the Doves' Cave*, 345
- *Viya, 85
- *Viyaśana, 200
- *Vimala of Rājagṛha, 54

- *Vimala of Benares, 173
- *Vimala Kondaṇḍa, 65
- Vimalā, 332, n 2
- Vinaya, 66, 169, 182; rules, 4
- *Vira, 13
- Virtue (*śīla*), (12), (70), 502 f), 590 f), (608 f), (1008), odour of, (28), (615)
- Vismātha Pañcālī's son, 152
- Viśākha, 147, 216
- Vision, 3, (422) And see Norm
- *Viśvaka, 133
- Voice, 230 f, (1233) (1270)
- *Void, the, (92), (1117)
- Wail, 37
- Wake, Awake, (47), (71), 84, (167), (175), (227), (233), (354), (368), (679), (680), (828), (902), (907), (914), (1168), (1240)
- Wanderers (*paribbajaka*), 34, 40, 52, 138, 139, 177, 201, 212, 280
- War similes, (51), (177), 144 n 1, (236)
- Ward, (1031), (1047)
- Way ('*paṇa*'), 3, (212), 198, (*magga*), (1243), (*magga*), (210)
- Wealth, worldly, (550), (776 f), spiritual, (508), (632)
- Welfare, (588)
- Well Come, the, 185, (305), (725), (860), (880), (1238)
- Wheel See Norm
- White, (540), (672), robes, (905), (973)
- Wife, trying to recall husband, 14, 15, 39, 131, 184, (290), 226, loss of, 34, (refused), (72), accompanies husband, 369
- Wall (1029), (1114)
- Wind, (22), (50), (235) (544), wind god, (3), 7 n 4, (1006 f), simile, (416), (754), (1265), wind illness See Disease
- Wintering, M., xxi, xxxi f, xxxv n 1
- Wisdom (*paññā*), (3) (12), *passam*, (*passam*) (509), (*buddha*) (75); *of* (1015) intelled: 'wisdom being' See Bodhiest, arms, branches, chords, etc., of, (68), (161), (165) (593), *passam*
- Woman, spurned, (59), 106, 137, 155, (*vision of*), 105; rebuked,

- (270 *f*), dead, (393); power after death, (315 *f*): charm of, (738 *f*)
- Woods or forests.
- Acacia, 46, 270
- Añjana (Sāketa), 33, 43, 56 *f*, 76, 210, 215
- Bamboo, Rājagaha, 9, 26, 52, 136, 189, 218, 360, 363
- Bhesakajā, 23, 221
- Cool Wood, (6), (540), 275
- Dark Wood, 0, 148
- Eastern Bamboo, 30, 177, 326
- Jānu, 310
- Jeta Wood, 26, 45, 53, 68, 70
- Kāripaya, (22)
- Mango, 67, 90, (563), 315; at Anupya 8, 326
- Sāla, 331
- Sipapa, 67
- World, 'lower things,' 40, (154), (191), 276, (1072 *f*); worldly views, (129 *f*), (187 *f*), (479), 282, (1175); not of the, (76), (209), (700)
- Working, phub-tine, many folk, (215), (311), (456), (518), (573), 283
- Worm (*umile*), (1175)
- Writing, letters, 33, 90 n 5, 107
- Written doctrine, tradition of, 90, 107
- Yakkha, 48, 215, 315
- *Yasa, xxiii, 42, 104
- *Yasaddatta, 201
- Yasodharā, 183
- *Yasoja, 166
- Zest, (983 *f*), (1030), (1060 *f*).
See also *Entirestness*
- Zest, (530)

II

PALI WORDS DISCUSSED IN FOOTNOTES

- Akuppata* 202 n 1
- Alakula*, 314 n 1
- Appahāra*, 312 n 3
- Atthantira*, 201 n 2
- Adhityāhā*, 378 n 5
- Anvāhanā* 46, 81
- Anupādāya* 283 n 2
- Anupāla* 312 n 3
- Anuruttā*, 312 n 3
- Anodavāla*, 5 n 1
- Abhaya*, 305 n 3
- Abhaya*, 13 14 n 3, 33 n 2
- Abhaya* 376 n 1
- Arjuna* (734)
- Arjuna*, 212 n 1, 263 n 1
- Archedakammanu* 1 159 n 3
- Asa*, 404 n 2
- Asana* (sense-organ and object) 407 n 1
- Ākari*, 357 n 3 419
- Indagopaka*, 18 n 1, 161 n 2, (1063)
- Udāca brāhmaṇa*, 70
- Upadā*, 339 n 7, 406 n 1
- Elagga*, 397 n 1
- Platya*, 347 n 5
- Kathāvatthā*, Ten, 9 n 1
- Kappha*, 333, n 2; cf. 23
- Kāyagāma*, 406, n 4
- Kāsi*, 73 n 1
- Kumma*, 183 n 3
- Kura*, 146 n 2
- Ākandā*, 11 n 3, 407 n 1
- Gadhā*, 339 n 8
- Gāma*, 331 n 3
- Cāraṇa*, 378 n 3, 419
- Corundana*, 121 n 1
- Chandika*, 353 n 2
- Tathāgata*, 170 n 1
- Tasa* *thāra*, 323 n 1

- Dabba*, 399 n 4
Dubbato, ubbato, 379 n 4
Dhammabhuta, 237 n 3
Dhammā, doctrines, truths, (9),
 (11), (201), (340), (370 f), 264
Dhona, 409 n 4

Nānārāja 300 n 4
Nibbuta, 90 n 4, 183 n 4, 217
 n 4, (586)
Niyama 407 n 2
Niruta, 409 n 2

Padullagahi, 399 n 3
Papañca, 246 n 2, 343 n 4, 328
 n 2
Pabbhārita 302 n 1
Para to, 383 n 3, 385 n 2
Parabhavassanā, 381 n 4
Paray 379 n 3 383 n 3
Pariggaha, 217 n 6
Parinibbāna 11 n 3
Parinibbūto, 'perfected,' 11 n 3,
 202 n 1, reaching the goal, (7),
 (8) 417
Patala, 418

Bhātma, (370) n 4
Bhadda bhadda, bhaddiya, 19 n 1,
 21 n 4
Bhāvabhavā, 305 n 4
Bhāvehi 375 n 3
Bhōjaka 143 n 3

Manda[ik]a raja 83 n 5, 94, 100,
 152

Māmaka, 300 n 3
Mālakkhurajana, 338 n 1
Muni, 132 n 3

Yathācāri, 342 n 2
Yojana, 250, 255 n 1
Yugāni, 539 n 2

Ruppato, 338 n 2

Vatta, 217 n 2
Vatthu, 337 n 1
Vāñāna, 355 n 4
Vatapi 380 n 2
Vatikka, 346 n 1
Virāye 375 n 2
Vissatthā, 213 n 3
Vissā, 24 n 1, 110
Vedagā 'hath betā'en himself to
 truth' (10)

Sankhara, 'varied things of sense'
 life's 'experience,' 385 n 1
 (1175)
 world (1180)
Sanduythika 314 n 1
Sati 308 n 1, 318 n 1, (1141)
Samussaya 149 n 2
Sarasankappā, 300 n 1
Sārambha 300 n 6
Siriyaṇa 243 n 1
Sila, 269 n 1
Sujā, 311 n 2
Setthi, xxviii n 4

Hurakura 213 n 2